146210

146210

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

March 1953

California Historical Society Quarterly

Editor: GLADYS C. WICKSON

Editorial Advisory Committee: ALLEN L. CHICKERING, *Chairman;* MRS. ELIZABETH GRAY POTTER, *Assistant Chairman;* FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR, GEORGE L. HARDING, EDGAR M. KAHN, ADELE OGDEN.

Vol. XXXII Contents for March 1953 No. 1

"THE BIG SILVER" 1
California's Greater Silver Mine
By Dwight L. Clarke

NORTHERNMOST SPANISH FRONTIER IN CALIFORNIA 43
As Shown by the Distribution of Geographic Names
By H. F. Raup *and* William B. Pounds, Jr.

THE QUESTION OF RELIGION AND THE TAMING OF CALIFORNIA, 1849-1854 49
By William Hanchett

THE OLD OCCIDENTAL 57
By Stephen P. Jocelyn
With Foreword by Allen L. Chickering

DIARY OF EMMA C. DERBY *(Concluded)* 65
Bancroft's Niece Keeps Record of European Tour
March 25–August 6, 1867

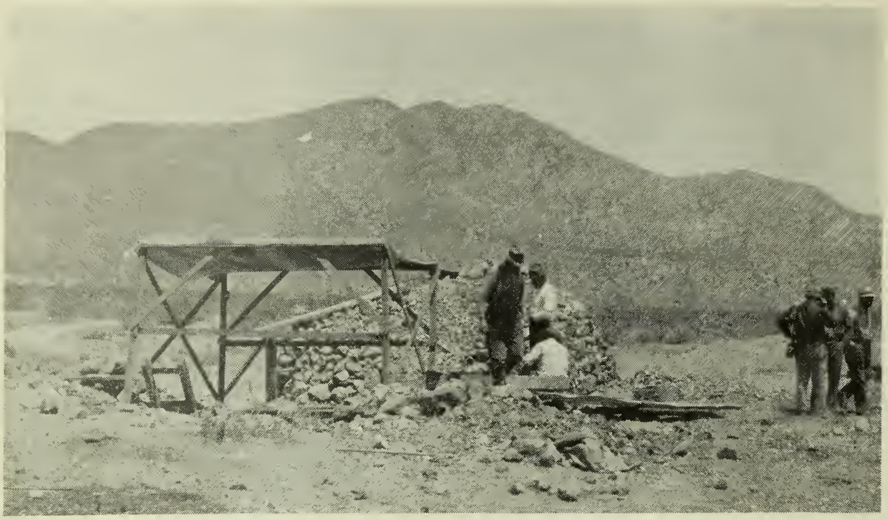
BRITISH COMMENT—AS OF 1849-1851 81
By S. Laird Swagert

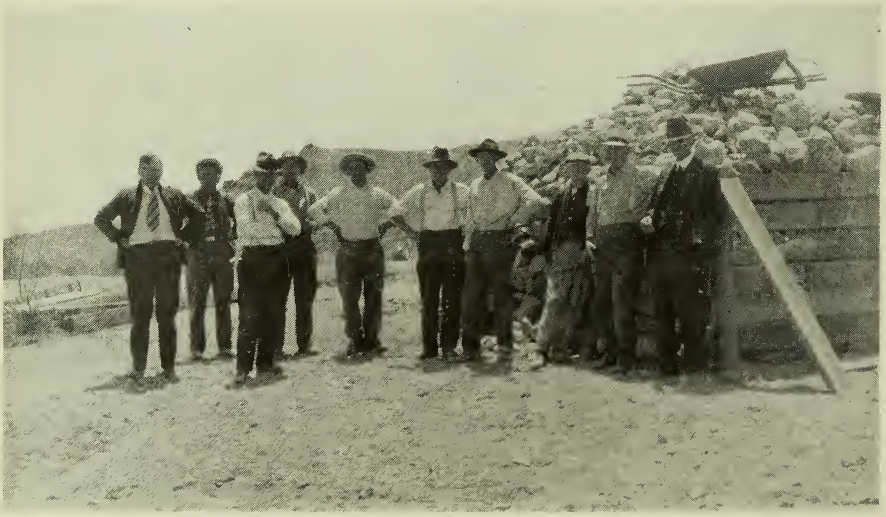
NEWS OF THE SOCIETY
New Members 87
Book of Remembrance 88
Gifts 89

RECENT CALIFORNIANA 92

MARGINALIA 93

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY is published in March, June, September, and December from the rooms of the Society at 456 McAllister Street, San Francisco 2, California, and distributed to members only. Extra copies and back numbers may be purchased by members at two dollars per copy (plus eight cents postage) with the exception of certain numbers which are very scarce or out of print. The QUARTERLY is entered as second-class matter at the Post Office, San Francisco, California. The entire contents are copyrighted, 1953, by the California Historical Society. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors. All correspondence should be addressed to the Society.





"THE BIG SILVER" in June 1919

Above, looking toward Red Mountain. Left-hand group: W. H. "Hamp" Williams (in white shirt); right-hand group, left to right: Jo P. Carroll, Edward T. Grady, and John W. Kelly.

Below, a mine without a dump. Left to right: Dwight L. Clarke, next four unidentified, "Hamp" Williams, J. J. "Jack" Nosser, Jo P. Carroll, John W. Kelly, J. M. "Jack" Jameson.

"The Big Silver"

California's Greatest Silver Mine

By Dwight L. Clarke

146210

When California mines are mentioned, it is natural to think of Marshall's discovery of gold in 1848. The rich placers and quartz producers of the mother lode also remind one of gold. Silver, on the other hand, is more apt to conjure up visions of Montana and Nevada. Yet nearly three-quarters of a century after the gold rush and in a far different part of California, our state enjoyed a silver excitement of no mean proportions. Some of its startling features and the millions it produced wrote a new chapter of western mining, on something of the epic scale of earlier days.

In 1919 and the early twenties, newspaper stories appeared about the Kelly, or the "Big Silver," as it was called more frequently than by its official name – the California Rand Silver mine. Most of these stories were written in the excitement following the discovery: none of them gave a full and accurate account of the mine. Occasionally, in something written about the Mojave Desert or Randsburg, the Big Silver is mentioned, but only incidentally. The latest of these references to come to the writer's notice was *Desert Bonanza* by Marcia Rittenhouse Wynn, published in Culver City, California, in 1949. Her book covers the whole story of the Rand mining district of California, from the discovery of the famous Yellow Aster gold mine down to recent years. Out of a total of 278 pages, Mrs. Wynn devotes only some sixteen to the Big Silver, but her brief account is commendably accurate in most respects.

As one of the few now living who experienced the lively days of 1919, and those of the following decade during which the original owners operated the Big Silver, it seems to me that its story should be written down. Some of the original records are still in the writer's possession and have been referred to below.

PROSPECTORS AND GRUBSTAKES

During 1918, John W. Kelly, Edith F. Coons and J. J. (Jack) Nosser located certain mining claims in the Rand mining district, Kern County, a short distance south of the so-called Stringer district (that adjoins Randsburg on the south) and just westward of the easterly boundary line of Kern County. Some months later, these owners conveyed an undivided fourth interest in the claims to Wade Hampton Williams. There were eleven of these claims, and they were called the KCN group from the initials of the original locators.

Kelly was a former sheriff of Kern County, who had attained special prominence because the manhunt for the cold-blooded killer, James McKinney, occurred during his term of office. Kelly, as sheriff, led the posse that besieged and finally killed McKinney in a Chinese joss-house in Bakersfield, just after he had slain two members of the posse; one of his victims was the father of Lawrence Tibbett, the great baritone. After his term as sheriff, Kelly had engaged in various mercantile and mining ventures in Kern County. Miss Coons was just completing her term as assessor of that county, after serving for some time as chief deputy of her predecessor, J. M. (Jack) Jameson (of whom much more will be said in the course of this narrative). Nosser was a typical "desert rat," who had spent many years as a prospector in the mountain and desert regions of the west, with very indifferent success. Hamp Williams, the fourth to join the quartet (and a very essential member of it, as will soon be noted), had been born in the South Fork Valley of Kern County. He was named for his father, a native of Virginia; his mother was a member of the South Fork Indian tribe. Probably because of his Indian blood, Hamp possessed an instinct for minerals. Of a modest and taciturn nature, he would examine a piece of rock intently for a few moments. Then he would give an estimate of its composition that was astonishing. More than once I have seen assays run of rock he had so appraised; it was common for him to come within five or ten per cent of the value found by the assayers in their laboratory. I believe he was entirely sincere in saying he could not explain how he did this.

The Kellys and Miss Coons grubstaked Nosser and Williams, while they worked on the KCN claims without finding any great values. Within a short time, Jack Jameson assumed part of Miss Coons' share of the grubstake and acquired half of her quarter-interest for his advances.

MINERAL PAINT CAN BE INTERESTING

In the winter of 1918-19, a Los Angeles broker met the miners and commented on the prominent red outcroppings far up on the side of Red Mountain, which rises boldly out of the desert a mile or so east of the site of the Big Silver. He thought it might be mineral paint; he said there was a market for the same at the moment and suggested that Nosser and Williams obtain some samples of it for him. Kelly recalled that someone was reported to have located claims on this mineral-paint deposit years before. Probably no one got very excited about the matter; mineral paint lacks the appeal of gold. But dollars were scarce and an honest handful of them looked very desirable. So, on a cold January day when there was a light snowfall, Nosser and Williams climbed Red Mountain carrying prospectors' hammers and sample bags. The latter were soon filled, and the two men clambered back down the steep slope and then up the long gradual grade to the divide, that lies along the county line in the direction of the KCN claims. They were tired, and Nosser, the older of the two, straggled behind. Finally Williams sat down on a low wide outcropping of rock to wait for him. Prospector-like, his eye scanned the nearby formations, much of it of a bluish-gray and flinty appearance. His prospector's hammer chipped off a piece, then another and another. The rocks seemed heavy for their size. Hamp began chipping from other portions of the ledge. By the time Nosser arrived Williams had a handful of specimens. "What's this look like?" he asked Jack. Nosser vouchsafed no opinion except that it was heavy but did not look like lead. "I believe it's horn silver," Hamp told him, "and there's a lot of it." They both remembered that there had never been any silver found around Randsburg; free-milling gold in many places, and tungsten a little to the southeast around Atolia, but no silver. Anyhow they took some samples and hurried on to dinner in Randsburg.

The writer has never heard of the fate of the samples of mineral paint; it is to be hoped that the Los Angeles broker did not have his heart set on receiving them. But the bags of blue-gray rock were to make mining history. They were forwarded to Kelly who had them assayed, and a few days later he showed up in Randsburg greatly excited. Both samples had assayed high in gold but much higher in silver — several hundreds of dollars a ton of the white metal, in fact. (This is an illustration of the way thoroughly-honest miners can unwittingly "salt" themselves, by picking out the choicest specimens when they sample a new prospect.) Williams had literally sat upon a very rich "blow-out" of silver and gold, but the top of the ledge ran far lower in value than these two samples. Even so, he and Nosser had stumbled onto the very top of a mine that was to "pay from the grass roots," an occurrence so rare that many miners spend lifetimes in the business without ever experiencing it.

NEW MINING CLAIMS OVER AN OLD ONE

Immediately the partners located some nine claims, running along the strike of the outcropping or parallel to it on its dip to the southeast. They gave the name of "Uranium" to this group, because of the resemblance of the rock to a metal that was to assume such a fateful significance to mankind a generation later. Actually not a trace of uranium was ever found anywhere near this property, so far as known to the writer. In the process of locating these claims, the three men noted that the Williams-Nosser discovery was within the bounds of a claim known as the Juanita, located for gold many years before by a man whom I shall call Smith. Shallow shafts had been sunk in various places upon it, and one short tunnel had been run under the ledge not far from where Williams had sat down to wait for Nosser. The side lines of the Juanita claim ran in a NW-SE direction, whereas the strike of the "Uranium"-discovery ledge was almost at right angles to the older claim, running from the northeast to the southwest. Any mining done on the Juanita, in the years since its location, had been along a vein containing some free-milling gold that paralleled its side lines. The gold in the new bluish-gray-rock discovery would not pan a color. (That ore later proved to be quite refractory, requiring a complicated milling and smelting treatment wholly unlike that applicable to the known Randsburg ores.) From every viewpoint it was important to the partners to acquire the Juanita claim. It was owned by a Los Angeles attorney, son of the deceased locater. Kelly, who had known both of these men for years, called, in company with Jameson, upon the younger of the two. They told him of their prospecting activity and asked him to put a price on the Juanita. He was quite willing to sell it for $5,000. Smith was a lawyer accustomed to mining transactions, and he drew up a lease and bond similar to those widely used in such deals. In it the purchasers agreed to do a stipulated amount of work, and to pay him a fifteen per cent royalty on all ore they extracted from the property. Such payments were to be credited on the agreed purchase price of $5,000. When all of that had been paid, the buyers were to receive a deed from Smith. Kelly, knowing both father and son, had all the time assumed that the latter, a lawyer, had acquired the claim as a gift or inheritance from his father. Smith did not correct Kelly as to the facts, at the time this sale was agreed upon. The buyers' error in this assumption had a most interesting and dramatic sequel.

A NEWSPAPER EDITOR AND HIS FRIENDS

With the Juanita claim thus secured, the partners were anxious to commence development work, to ascertain whether their find was merely a surface enrichment, such as is sometimes found in desert formations, or whether it was the beginnings of a real mine. As a group they were financially unable to undertake such a program, and they looked about for partners who would put up the money required to open up the ground, in exchange for an interest in it.

Jack Jameson, from his years of public life as Kern County's assessor, had many loyal friends and a reputation for careful, honest, and competent handling of any undertaking entrusted to him. It was therefore not too difficult for him to assist Nosser and Williams in disposing of a portion of their interests to a small group that would put up its share of the required expense and, at the same time, place the prospectors in sufficient funds to carry their remaining interests. This was the means whereby a number of Bakersfield businessmen, headed by the late Alfred Harrell, owner and editor of the Bakersfield *Californian*, became interested in the property. Their entry on the scene not only resulted in a substantial increase in their own worldly fortunes but proved to be of decisive importance in the mine's history.

At the time of these events, the writer was the assistant-manager and trust officer of the Security Trust Co. of Bakersfield (a banking concern that, through a sale made in 1927, became a part of the present-day Bank of America). One day Kelly, whom I had known slightly as a depositor, called on me to inquire whether it would be possible to create a simple holding-trust of a number of mining claims owned by him and a group of his friends. They were not ready to incorporate, but they wanted to protect all interests by lodging the title in our bank as trustee for all the beneficial owners. This was my first knowledge of any of the aforesaid circumstances. In a few days I had prepared a defeasance agreement, that set forth all the facts and provided a means, during the preliminary period of exploration, whereby the property could be operated and everyone be safeguarded from the complications that might befall through death or absence of any of the parties. (In some respects, 1919 seems a long time ago; one wonders how many statutes, regulations, orders of commissions, authorities, etc., would be transgressed today by means that were then safe, legal and practical.)

So, on May 21, 1919, the Security Trust Co. became vested with the title to the Juanita, Uranium and KCN claims, and issued trustee's certificates of beneficial interest to all the owners, old and new.

A DRIVE ACROSS THE MOJAVE DESERT

I should have said that Jack Jameson was a director of the Security Trust Co. and, because he was a recognized authority on land values, he frequently made appraisals of real estate in connection with applications for bank loans. Up to this time, the handling of these loan-applications and appraisals with Jameson had formed the chief basis for our acquaintance. A day or two after my discussion of the mining trust with John Kelly, I had to consult Jameson about a proposed loan on a parcel of Bakersfield business property. He suggested that we visit it together, and, while we were returning to the bank, he mentioned that he and two of our mutual friends were going out to Randsburg the next day to look over John Kelly's silver prospect. He asked me if I would like to join the party, as the trip would give me a good opportunity to see a part of the country where we had many bank customers and with which I was only poorly acquainted. (I had come to Bakersfield as a young banker, less than three years before these events.) I gladly accepted the invitation, and, in view of the developments that soon followed, can conservatively state that I have seldom, if ever, arrived at a decision of more far-reaching consequences to myself. I still remember that I awoke early the next morning with strong symptoms of a cold, and wondered if it would not be wiser to remain in bed, or at least not take an all-day auto-ride over the mountains and desert; but I decided to make the trip regardless of how I felt.

That was on May 23, 1919. The ride to Randsburg was longer and harder on the roads of those days than at present, so we departed soon after sunrise and did not return until nearly midnight. There were four of us in the party: Jack Jameson, who drove us in his touring-car; Alfred Harrell, the editor (who was also a director of our old bank); and Edward T. Grady, a resident of Bakersfield, who was then a real-estate and oil-lands broker. He had spent some time in Tonopah and Goldfield during the mining excitements, and, while not a professional mining engineer, was keenly observant and had practical knowledge of mining and geology. For several years prior to this time, Grady had managed to live on an occasional real-estate commission and a small profit now and then from some oil option. Notwithstanding this relative adversity, he was considered absolutely honorable, and became one of the owners in the Big Silver solely because of his special knowledge and his fine character.

Grady and Harrell had agreed to go out with Jack Jameson, to look over the ground on behalf of the local group whom Jameson had brought together. Jack was a man of such fine integrity that he refused to let any of his friends put their money into the deal merely on his word – they must look it over for themselves. Even after this trip of May twenty-third, he maintained that very probably the whole thing would prove a fiasco. Harrell's attitude followed much the same pattern, but, because of their friendship, the one man was prepared to follow the other with unquestioning faith. For just this reason, Jameson insisted that Alfred Harrell must check his judgment on such a speculative venture. So it was more to satisfy that demand, than for any other reason, that Harrell took the trip. Both felt that Grady could advise them well.

It was a cool, clear, windy day on the Mojave Desert. We reached the site of the future mine late in the forenoon and found Kelly, Nosser, and Williams already on the ground. It was my first meeting with the two prospectors. They had already started to drill a few holes in the outcropping, preparatory to blasting off its top in order to take a chip sample from across the face of the ledge. While they "single jacked" these holes, Grady and I clambered about the rocks and peered down the shallow shafts of the old Juanita claim. In my boyhood, I had spent many summer vacations in the mother-lode region of Tuolumne County where a relative had some mining interests, so that I was used to venturing into tunnels, picking up samples and trying to make sense out of mineralogical jargon. Both of us were quickly struck by the unique location of the discovery. Half a mile away, down a gentle slope, ran the Kramer-Johannesburg branch of the Santa Fe Railway. Not over a mile distant there was even a railroad-siding, available for loading freight cars! A quite-passable auto road ran directly over the property, and a water pipeline was visible within a few hundred feet. Two miles over the hill lay Randsburg, with stores and many vacant but habitable houses. This would be "mining de luxe," we exclaimed to each other.

It is inconceivable now, as it was to all of us then, how so rich and so extensive an ore deposit could have lain undiscovered for so many years in such an exposed location. Men, experienced in mining and minerals, had crossed that ground on foot, by burro and autos well-nigh daily for perhaps twenty years. A partial explanation, of course, is that the miners around Randsburg were accustomed to panning any prospect for gold; the ledge on which Nosser and Williams rested in the early days of 1919 was composed of rock, even the richest of which would not show any color in a pan.

A BLAST IS SET OFF

By early afternoon we were all warned to get away from the drill holes. Nosser and Williams loaded them with dynamite, while all of us scattered in the greasewood and sagebrush of the hillside. Two or three earth-shaking blasts went off and rained dust and pebbles over the desert; the Big Silver's development was actually launched, although none of us realized it at the moment.

Ed Grady's experience immediately came into play, as, in a very modest way, he advised how best to take an accurate chip-sample of the ledge. Since he was the technical adviser of the prospective investors who were absent, it finally developed that he took the samples, himself, with some help from the writer. He avoided the shiny, heavy pieces of horn silver and concentrated, instead, on taking as *average* a lot of rock particles at *even* distances as could be collected. Two or three good-sized sample bags were filled from various cross-sections of the ledge and carried back with us to Bakersfield.

Before we left the desert, I took Jack Jameson aside and told him I had a hunch that there was a mine under us, and that I felt strongly enough about it to take a small interest in the venture if there was any available. He told me that the little that was being sold by Nosser and Williams had all been spoken for; that he was sorry this was so, as he would like to have me in the group if it was going to amount to anything. The next day, Alfred Harrell walked up to my desk in the bank and said that Jack had told him of our conversation. He explained that Jack had already promised to relinquish a small part of his own share to a former faithful employee, and did not want to reduce it further. However, said Harrell, he, himself, was morally obligated to buy a one-eighth interest, and, while it would probably prove a dead loss, he was willing, though not urging it, to let me have an eighth of his eighth at the price he was to pay. I told him that I could not think of going into such a venture in a big way, but that I had resolved to purchase twice the amount he offered me if it were obtainable. "No," laughed Harrell, "I'll let you have either a sixty-fourth or nothing. If it's good I don't want to give up any more. If we find we've been fooled, that's all I want you to lose." Thus I became owner of a sixty-fourth part of the mine to be. I was one of the smallest owners, but, probably because I was the youngest member of the group, my elation at being in on the ground floor was doubtless the greatest. The thoughtful consideration shown me by both Alfred Harrell and Jack Jameson in this incident was typical of the two men.

A few days later, Grady brought all of us the assay returns from our samples. These are lacking from my records, but, as near as I can recall, they went about $45 or $50 a ton. Ed hastened to point out that we could profitably mine ore of such value and ship it to a smelter.

This seems a good place to name the other early owners of the mine. Besides the original locators already mentioned and the additional interests earlier acquired by Hamp Williams and Jack Jameson, the one-eighth interest, that Nosser and Williams each sold to the original Bakersfield group, became the property in varying proportions of Alfred Harrell and his daughter, Mrs. Bernice Chipman, J. A. Hughes, W. W. Colm, Charles A. Barlow, W. H. Hill, Angus J. Crites, Edward T. Grady, and the writer. Mrs. Charles A. Smithwick acquired a small part of J. M. Jameson's interest. All of these people were residents of Bakersfield, with the exception of Mrs. Chipman who lived in San Francisco. J. A. Hughes was a well-known druggist of Bakersfield and also chairman of the finance committee of our bank. He was very active in civic affairs and a man universally respected and trusted. Long before his death in 1932, he had become one of the finest friends I have ever had. Colm was another bank director, known among oil men as "Sacramento Bill" from the valley of his origin; he owned valuable oil wells in the Kern River fields and numerous other properties. Charles A. Barlow and W. H. Hill were the members of an oil-and-land partnership, Barlow and Hill. Barlow had served in Congress from a Long Beach district and was one of the pioneer enthusiasts for the plan out of which has emerged the Central Valley water project. Angus Crites operated oil properties in the Maricopa field of Kern County. Several of the men named became active directors of our mining corporation. Most of them soon divided their holdings with their wives and sometimes with other members of their families; in a few cases they placed their entire interests in their wives' names, so that the number of owners increased without any essential change of actual ownership.

Reverting to the story of the mine itself, as soon as the Grady assays were received and the purchase from Nosser and Williams completed, two voluntary and informal assessments of $1,000 each were levied a few weeks apart, to provide the necessary cash for preliminary expenses. This $2,000 was all the cash ever invested in the mine itself by the owners, apart from the money and labor contributed by the original locators and Williams and Jameson.

PAVING ROCK AND GRASS ROOTS

On June 7, 1919, an incline shaft was started on the spot where Williams had taken his original samples. This became the company's Number One shaft and, for the first thirty feet or more, was actually a rather wide pit, because pay values were found all around its four walls, and these values rapidly increased with depth. A rough platform was laid close to the mouth of the shaft, and the first rock excavated was piled upon it for greater ease in shipment. Enough rock had been collected to ship the first car of ore on June twentieth. It went via the Santa Fe Railway to the Selby Smelting Works at Selby on San Francisco Bay and arrived there on June twenty-fourth. About three days later, another car followed it. Many months later E. B. Braden, then general manager of the Selby Smelter, told me some stories about the arrival of these two shipments. One day a workman came in and complained to the foreman, "Some d—— fool out on the Mojave desert has shipped us a whole freight car full of paving rock. Hadn't we better dump the stuff into the bay to get rid of it?"

The early-day oxide ore from this mine did resemble the bluish-gray rock so much used by paving contractors. Fortunately, caution usually increases with responsibility, so, even though the foreman agreed as to the looks of the rock, he withheld any such summary action until he had the car weighed and sampled. Then he took another look. It ran 0.497 of an ounce in gold, then worth $20.50 an ounce, and 34.37 ounces in silver, on that day worth $1.11⅛ an ounce. The whole fifty-five ton car, after deducting freight and smelter charges, yielded $1,639.77. When the second car came in shortly afterwards, the smelter attendants were better prepared but again they had a new experience. This time the foreman telephoned excitedly to Braden at his office in San Francisco. "Now I've seen everything; come over and take a look. I've heard all my life about mines paying from the grass roots. We've got a car of ore here from somebody in Randsburg that actually has grass roots and sagebrush in with the ore. And the funny thing is that the darn stuff assays good too."

While seemingly only a funny story, this was literally true. Before any ore was trucked down to the railroad siding, about 120 tons had been piled on the rude platform. The rock that came off the top of the ledge did, literally, have bits of earth and roots mixed with it, and was on the bottom of the heap. When John Kelly decided it was time to ship, the first truck loads were removed from the top of the pile and made up the first car. The second car, loaded with rock from the bottom of the pile — that is, from the top of the ledge — had provided the smelter men with their yarn about a shipment of grass roots. This second car was of lower value. Its gold content was 0.417 ounce, silver 26.57 ounces, and the returns netted $1328.98.

The smelter had been requested to send the reports on ore shipments to me at the bank in Bakersfield. I wasted no time in communicating their contents to all the interested parties. Excitement prevailed in both Bakersfield and Randsburg, and work on the shaft was pressed with all possible speed. Only once more were we to need working funds. A time-lag between date of shipment and receipt of the returns was inevitable, and, with the ore we now knew was in sight, it was imperative that some equipment be immediately purchased. Four or five of us therefore signed a note for five thousand dollars at another bank and advanced the money to the partnership. Long before it came due, ore-returns were more than sufficient to repay it.

NEVER UNDERESTIMATE A QUITCLAIM DEED

Each time we received money from the smelter on these ore shipments, we very carefully remitted fifteen per cent of it to Smith, to apply on the $5,000 due him under the terms of the lease and purchase-bond between him and Kelly and Jameson. Within a very few weeks, the owners decided it was best to pay off Smith and have a clear title to so valuable a property. He had not acknowledged our checks for the royalties. Investigation disclosed that he was not cashing them. That was disquieting. We were more disturbed when a letter, requesting him to escrow his deed against full payment of the unpaid balance, also went unanswered. Then Harrell tried unsuccessfully to talk to him by long-distance telephone. A bit tardily we had a search made of the Juanita claim in the San Bernardino County records. Smith père had quitclaimed it to Smith fils in 1915 for a stated consideration of $10.00! On the record at least it was neither given to, nor inherited by, the junior Smith. Moreover, discreet inquiry developed that Smith fils was a married man and had been in 1915. Under California community-property laws, his wife acquired an interest when he received the quitclaim deed. She had not joined with her husband in executing the lease and bond to Kelly and Jameson. Smith, a lawyer well versed in California title-law, had not even suggested that she sign the sales agreement; the buyers, as laymen, left it to him to give them proper papers.

The disinclination to answer the long-distance call was the last straw.

Kelly, Jameson, and Miss Coons were out at Randsburg; Alfred Harrell and I were in Bakersfield. After a council-of-war by telephone between the two groups, Harrell and I started, late in the afternoon of July 31, 1919, for Mojave. With us went Vance Anderson, then of the law firm of Anderson & Borton, a close friend of all of us and attorney for several of the owners. In Mojave we met John Kelly, Jack Jameson, and Miss Coons. All of us got into one car and started on a night drive for Los Angeles via Mint Canyon. I recall that the roads were execrable, with some tricky detours. Despite the fact that we had left Bakersfield on a hot summer's day, we ran into a heavy, chilling fog before we reached Saugus. We men all wore Palm Beach suits that hung about our shivering forms when we drove into Los Angeles at seven in the morning of August first.

En route we had decided to bid high, if necessary, rather than have our title clouded by uncertainties or a lawsuit. We feared that even a few days' delay might show far greater values in our shaft and increase the amount at stake. Therefore, even though convinced of the moral soundness of our position, viz., that we were entitled to receive a good title to our property when we paid $5,000 — the price that had been agreed to by both seller and buyers — we determined to pay as much as $50,000 if need be. The writer made an early morning call upon the Security Trust's correspondent, the Farmers and Merchants National Bank of Los Angeles. Telling them only as much as was necessary of our dilemma, I secured $50,000 in currency from them and, with Kelly and Jameson as my bodyguards, joined the others in the lobby of the old First National Bank, then on the ground floor of the Van Nuys Building at Seventh and Spring streets. Smith's law office was in that building. Naturally it was important that we not betray our anxiety, so it was thought best that only some of the party call on him. Kelly and Jameson went up to Smith's office, while I waited with the money in the bank lobby with Harrell and Anderson. Miss Coons had taken a room in a nearby hotel. That $50,000 did not fit too well in my flimsy Palm Beach suit. Never has waiting seemed so interminable. Were our friends losing out? Was our man refusing to be seen? More delay and still more. But at last our partners strode into the lobby with a look of victory plain on their faces.

Smith, in defending his reluctance to consummate the sale, had taken the position that Kelly, an old friend, had concealed from him the great value of the Juanita claim. Kelly had very properly replied that when he and Jameson had previously called to negotiate the lease and bond, neither he nor anyone else could have had any knowledge of the values soon to be encountered there. The lease was dated May 14, 1919; up until then, only some promising samples had been taken. Not until the partners actually started work on the shaft on June seventh, did they become aware of the rich ore body. All this had been debated with some heat, but Smith had finally agreed with his wife over the telephone that for $15,000 she would come down and join with him in signing the deed. Fifteen thousand dollars and not $50,000! We did not exactly shout, but undoubtedly the bank guards in the First National wondered what kind of characters were loitering in their lobby. In an hour or so, Mrs. Smith did arrive, though I believe only Kelly and Jameson saw her. I had supplied them with the $15,000 and then returned to the Farmers & Merchants to redeposit my "change." Our original nocturnal carload all met at a very late lunch, extremely tired and limp but even more happy. Reverently we passed around our precious deed. Then I found a public stenographer, and, before we drove out of town, a registered letter was on its way to the county recorder in San Bernardino with the deed enclosed. We were taking no more chances. We got back to Mojave at 10:30 that night. Jack Jameson drove the car. The rest of us dozed most of the way. We were not only exhausted but talked out. Of all the crises and uncertainties in the future history of the mine, those final twenty-four hours of suspense, climaxing several weeks of growing concern over the Juanita claim, were by far the most nerve-wearing.

A MINE WITH SEVERAL NAMES AND NO DUMP

After the first four or five cars were shipped, values mounted sharply; much of the ore ran over $100 a ton. By the middle of August, the first twenty cars of ore had yielded net returns of $128,552.83 from a mine a little over two months old. Mining scouts began to hint at another Tonopah or even a latter-day Comstock. For miles in every direction the Mojave desert was plastered with location notices, stock promoters got busy with prospectuses, and there was a boom in the printing of stock certificates. Randsburg filled with people, and vacant houses were put on trucks and hauled in from miles away.

At the very beginning of this activity there had been a good deal of discussion about an appropriate name. Some of the new owners and many old friends of John Kelly would ask him how to find the property if they drove out to Randsburg. While very close to a good paved road running into Randsburg from the south, the mine was not visible from this road. At first only faint wheel tracks led off from the pavement in the right direction. A number of other tracks wandered aimlessly in the vicinity, so Kelly took the end of an apple box and painted on it "Kelly Silver," with a rude finger pointing in the direction of the mine. That was why it soon was called the Kelly Mine by many people.

Kelly, himself, liked the name "Rand Divide," and for a few weeks that was the name on our checks, letterheads, etc., although we had not yet incorporated. Kelly was fond of the district—hence the name Rand—and the new mine lay virtually on a low divide between Randsburg and Atolia. A short time later it was found that there was a Rand Divide Mining Co., operating in one of the Nevada camps. Its stock was quoted at about a cent a share, so everyone agreed that another name should be chosen. It must be identified with the Rand mining district, with our state, and, also, since silver was our principal metal, that word should appear somewhere. So one evening, while a number of us were holding a bull session about the amazing developments of that summer and deciding that we must quickly proceed with incorporation, the writer made a suggestion: "Why not California Rand Silver Incorporated—doesn't that tell all you want to say?" No one proposed any other name, so the change was made, and, when incorporation was completed in September, California Rand Silver Incorporated it was.

With all the stock promotions, leases, and both bona-fide and paper mining that went on all around the mine, there was soon a plethora of names, imposing, imitative and confusing. Fate ultimately ordained that only one paying mine was to result from this discovery (if we exclude the rich Grady lease and a small and brief production by the Coyote mine to be later mentioned). Therefore the custom grew up among workmen and passersby to call our mine the "Big Silver," to distinguish it from all the others.

Many mining experts, both genuine and self-acclaimed, swarmed over the property. One of the former class, when told that the big hole he was looking at was the "mine," exclaimed, "But where's your dump?" For the first fifty feet or more that this shaft was sunk, there was no waste rock extracted and therefore no dump. Every pound of rock hoisted was valuable enough to be shipped to the smelter.

On another occasion, an engineer, resplendent with heavy boots and tailored corduroy jacket, accosted Jack Jameson and me at the mine. We had discarded city garb for clothing more suitable for scrambling around a mine, and probably looked as if we could not raise ten dollars between us. He was bound to get us to name a price for the property; it was a surface enrichment, a blow-out that would not continue to any depth, etc. We would be really wise to take, say, $25,000 for ourselves and associates. No? Well, maybe $50,000. What, not interested? Oh, come now, surely we didn't think anyone would pay us over $100,000.

Doubtless that man left Randsburg convinced he had encountered two lunatics, for Jack Jameson did a most artistic job of belittling money, great or small, that anyone might offer. Money? What did we want with it, anyhow? We had plenty under our feet, did we not? But if any of us wanted to see a lump-sum such as our visitor was naming, why he and one or two of the other owners could go down to Bakersfield and sign a note for it.

Other would-be purchasers sent us options and offers for various amounts. A few tried to trick some owner, less wary than the rest, into any sort of commitment. One or two of these hopeful souls even claimed to have succeeded, and in Mrs. Wynn's book such a tale is repeated, though it never had quite the basis in fact that she relates.

LEASERS WITH HIGH HOPES

Very early in the life of the mine, the owners had been importuned to lease various portions of their extensive ground. Many such leases were soon executed, and dirt and rock began to fly all along the strike of the outcropping that Hamp had first sampled. This ledge, which reared quite steeply in places, was the favorite spot; but some ground, directly behind the Number One shaft, was viewed with high favor by many.

The principal owners soon told me that they felt I had rendered many services to the joint adventure, although only a small partner in it. Therefore, they wanted to lease me a specially choice parcel in the hopes that I might profit substantially from it. This particular ground was so close to our work-shaft that one could toss a pebble from one spot to the other. Surely here were guaranteed riches. I had plenty of eager would-be partners, and we speedily sank a shaft of our own. Before we started, one astute broker offered to finance my lease without my contributing a penny. I believe I was promised a $2,500 bonus and was to be carried for a quarter-interest. I rejected such piker figures. Fortunately in our joyous mood we named this prize location the Silver Saddle Lease. I say fortunately, because, as it turned out, after months of rather costly effort, that was the only silver or other thing of value connected with my lease.

I was also interested in two other leases considerably farther away from the Big Silver. They were called the Vimy Ridge and the Argonne; one of my partners in the latter said it should have been called the "Allgone." That accurately summarizes the results of our speculations in both leases. On one of them I used to say that our good ore must be up in the skies, as we started with a fair showing of value on the surface which steadily declined as we sank the shaft.

Far-more experienced miners fared no better all around us. I have no complete list of all the leases made by the partners, and, a little later, by the new corporation, in the summer and fall of 1919, but the minute-books for the following few years contain many references to them, and I know there were at least several dozen. Some of these leasers kept doggedly at work for two or three years; in one or two cases for considerably longer. But with one exception, all met with complete failure.

That exception was the product of Ed Grady's acumen. When many of us were projecting leases along the outcropping, Ed surprised me by a negative answer to my request for his opinion. "I don't believe they'll find anything there," he said, "at least I wouldn't waste time or money trying. I'd rather go out there." To my amazement he pointed out on the sandy flat, a few hundred feet southeast of our Number One shaft. There was no formation in sight at the spot, just the coarse gravelly overburden and sagebrush of the desert. Ed, of course, had been carefully watching the dip of the vein in our shaft, and had already envisioned the way it would spread out to the east like the sticks of a fan, tipped downward at a fifty- or sixty-degree angle. In such an illustration, our Number One shaft was the handle of the fan. If his theory held, there was no point in hunting to the right or left or behind the handle – close proximity was entirely irrelevant and merely tantalizing as we of the Silver Saddle were to discover. Ed Grady, however, believed that, with depth, the deposit would spread more widely; the subsequent history of the California Rand Silver proved him uncannily correct. Surprisingly enough, he once told me that he had based much of his reasoning on an account he had read of a silver mine in Sweden that had been worked several hundred years before. That mine had had ore similar to ours in mineralogical composition and occurrence.

THE LOCATORS CASH IN

In July 1919, a sale of an important interest in the mine attracted widespread attention. Both Mr. and Mrs. Kelly and Miss Coons realized that, with the startling developments of the past few weeks, their major interests in the property were worth far more than their wildest expectations. The three of them felt it wise to cash in on some of their good fortune without delay. If they could make an advantageous sale of a small part of their interests, they could still retain enough to ride along on any further prosperity and yet not have all their eggs in one basket. Ed Grady negotiated a sale by the three of them of a full one-eighth interest; a quarter of this came from Miss Coons' holding, and the balance from Mr. and Mrs. Kelly's. Benjamin H. Sill, a well-known resident of Bakersfield and an old friend of Grady, purchased this holding for $50,000. By arrangement with both sellers and buyer, Grady retained a sixty-fourth interest, in payment for his services in negotiating the transaction.

It quickly became known that for virtually all cash an important interest had changed hands on a basis of roughly $400,000 for the whole mine, a property with no dump and less than sixty days' existence. Wiseacres shook their heads and agreed that Ben Sill must be losing his mind. His career up to this time had been marked by many astute and successful moves, but this was one too many. Quite a few of the mining experts who had visited the property agreed.

Studious and observing Ed Grady roamed the desert ceaselessly. He had made the deal, and he probably said less about it than anyone else. He was too busy working on another and bigger one.

By late August that transaction created even greater excitement. Nosser and Williams each still owned an eighth interest in the property. They were without other assets, and the reasoning that had led Mr. and Mrs. Kelly and Miss Coons to convert some of their new wealth into money applied with even greater force to these prospectors. For years they had pursued illusory Fortune with all manner of hardships and privations. Jack Nosser was getting old, Hamp Williams had a wife and two little children. They, too, could afford to sell a part of their holdings, and have enough left to insure them plenty of good fortune if the mine lived up to its present prospects.

Again Ed Grady acted as the friendly broker between sellers and buyers. Each of the miners sold a sixteenth interest to a syndicate of thirteen Bakersfield businessmen, headed by Louis V. Olcese. They bought in varying proportions, and included in their number were some of the most canny and conservative men of the community. Their purchase price, including the brokerage charged by Ed Grady, exceeded $100,000 and fixed the speculative value of the whole property at about

$840,000. When this news spread abroad, some of the mining engineers returned for another look. A peculiar feature of this deal was the famous "twenty-car exclusion" provision. At the time the Olcese purchase was about to be closed, someone asked the sellers if they were selling their share of the first twenty cars of ore that had been shipped to the smelter. As previously noted, these had netted $128,552.83. An eighth of that hard cash now in the bank was a tidy sum, and when the papers were drawn up the sellers retained their share of it. To simplify the accounting, all of the owners agreed to balance off the books to this point, pay all bills, etc., and divide the remaining cash. This was done just ahead of the closing of the Nosser and Williams sale to the Olcese syndicate.

One further comment should be made about these first twenty cars. Two of them, which had been shipped together early in August, contained just over fifty tons of ore, that ran well over six hundred ounces of silver to the ton. The net returns for the fifty tons just exceeded $33,000. It was one of the richest shipments that ever left the mine, and John Kelly wisely accompanied the freight cars to Selby's to guard against any tampering with the contents. The San Francisco papers hailed the arrival as a $100,000 shipment, an exaggeration that caused Jack Jameson to write me in protest, "Why does so good a story need any embellishment?"

HIGH GRADING AND HIGH GRADERS

This was the kind of "picture" high-grade ore that enlivened the visits of the owners and their friends in those early days. The California Rand ore was a siliceous schist that contained, in the oxidized zone of the upper levels of the mine (above 115 feet), a great deal of horn silver, ruby silver, and silver glance. When first exposed to the air, the richer rock showed reddish streaks of crystalline character running thickly through it. When wet, these streaks of ruby "bled" freely; that is, they resembled blood or red paint, and, if rubbed with a knife blade, developed a highly-colored metallic surface. Occasional rich streaks of chloride and fluoride of silver were also encountered, which made truly lovely specimens, very like the colors in a peacock's feathers. The ore bins were always popular spots for visitors; it was a common sight to see bankers, prominent lawyers, and successful merchants clambering over the loose ore and vying with each other in the specimens they could uncover.

It became the custom around the mine to accuse these amateur ore samplers of "high grading." To the uninitiated it should be explained that, among hard-rock miners, a "high grader" is a euphemistic term for a person who sorts over rock and steals the richest looking specimen. By obvious association of ideas, it was customary to refer to any pilferage, large or small, as high grading. Our original prospectors would sometimes appear with a piece of battered equipment or a needed length of timber, and laughingly explain that they had "high graded" it from some abandoned prospect-hole or deserted dwelling. In a short time, some of the Bakersfield owners would produce pockets-full of ruby silver specimens with the boast, "See what I high graded."

Our familiarity with "high grading" was not always so amusing or inconsequential. Throughout the development of the mine, we were subjected to harassment on this score, both by our own workers and by outsiders, who rifled locked freight cars of rich ore on railway sidings, and in various other ways relieved us of some of our riches. The general manager, shift bosses, and engineers frequently found little piles of high-grade ore secreted in out-of-the-way places underground, for retrieving later. Early in the mine's history, we built a change-room with showers, through which all workers had to pass when coming off duty. This is customary in mines with rich ore; but just how many persons circumvented the company, or how much they stole from us while so doing, no one will ever know.

To digress for a moment from chronological sequence, one particularly bold theft comes to mind. While we had many long arguments with the management of the Selby Smelter about rates and contractual terms, they were gentlemen, with ethical standards of doing business, and would not knowingly be a party to attempts to despoil the California Rand's owners. They telephoned us on one occasion that a shipment had reached them from a point a hundred miles away from our mine, and that they were suspicious about it.

Because of the terms of the Pittman Act,* an affidavit as to the mine of origin had to accompany every sale of silver ore, primarily to prove it was domestic silver. The affidavit for the suspicious ore named a mine that had not operated for some time. It was known to have produced only free-milling gold ore, and rock from it was yellowish-brown in color, very unlike any we had ever extracted. The shipment in question had a ton or two of this gold rock, but, mixed with it, was a larger quantity of bluish-gray siliceous ore, very rich in ruby silver. The smelter operatives had handled too many tons of our rock by this time not to recognize it instantly. A complicating detail was the fact that a certain bank had shipped the ore and claimed title to it. Naturally the smelter was bound to process the shipment, but I guess they did not try to break any speed-records in so doing. In the meantime, we had a representative visit the mine named in the affidavit. Its dump was reasonably old and weathered by wind and rain, but it bore marks of recent excavation that were unmistakable evidence as to the source of the brown rock. (Incidentally, our scout did not find any signs of activity within the mine itself.) Further incriminating evidence was uncovered that a truck, belonging to an elected official of the county in which the idle mine was located, had made several nocturnal trips heavily loaded.

---

*65th Cong., 2d sess., 40:1, U.S. Stat., Chap. 63 (Apr. 23, 1918).

The California Rand Company promptly sued the shipper bank, the owner of the truck, and the American Smelting and Refining Co. for the return of our stolen ore. The smelter company bowed out gracefully by depositing the proceeds of the ore in court. The bank exhibited righteous indignation and even had one of its big city correspondents write us a testimonial of its high character. Our main purpose was not so much to recover the few thousand dollars stolen, as to make it so hot for this receiver of stolen property that it would cease to act as a fence. I believe we succeeded in this, because we "lawed" them interminably, refusing every proffer of compromise or settlement for a long time. Finally we forced the defendants to pay all the expenses of the case, including our own attorney's fees, and then pay us half of what remained. We never encountered further trouble from that quarter. Since I was a banker, I recalled the incident very vividly when, a few years later, the bank that shipped the ore staged one of the most sensational and disastrous failures in the history of the west. One, at least, of its chief executives served a term in the penitentiary.

Mrs. Wynn in *Desert Bonanza* relates other stories about ore highgraded from the Big Silver. One is about a miner, plodding across the desert, who was picked up by Edith Coons and her chauffeur. Without realizing the identity of the car's owner, he entertained them by telling how much he had made at high-grading on the side, while working for the Big Silver.

INCORPORATION

Articles of incorporation were filed on August 26, 1919, in the name already described, California Rand Silver Incorporated. The nine original incorporators appear in the following order in the articles: Alfred Harrell, J. W. Kelly, Ida M. Kelly, J. J. Nosser, W. H. Williams, Edith F. Coons, Dwight L. Clarke, J. M. Jameson, and J. A. Hughes.

Their first meeting was held in Randsburg on September 19, 1919, with Alfred Harrell acting as chairman and Edith Coons as secretary. The incorporators became the first board of directors, and the following officers were elected: president, J. W. Kelly; first vice-president, W. H. Williams; second vice-president, J. M. Jameson; third vice-president, J. J. Nosser; secretary, Edith F. Coons; treasurer, Security Trust Co. of Bakersfield.

The stock that was to go to the owners of the certificates of beneficial interest could not be legally issued until the corporation commissioner's approval could be obtained, and that final step in incorporation was only completed on December 3, 1919.

It was felt that in view of the apparent size and richness of the deposit, the corporation should have approximately a million shares of stock. The writer was asked to study this question, in the light of the varying fractional interests represented by the certificates of beneficial interest under the trust agreement.

I quickly determined that a round million would prove an unmanageable figure. The original owners had been four; then there had followed eighth-interests which, in turn had split into other eighths. Everyone wished to avoid the nightmare of fractional shares, and we soon found that our best rounded-out, common denominator was 1,280,000. Every existing interest could be divided into that figure, with the result in even thousands. So we incorporated for that number of shares, which remained the company's capital to the end of the story.

VEINS OF SHIPPING ORE

Comment has been made that the Number One shaft, sunk at the point of original discovery, soon took on the unwieldy proportions of an open pit, because of the high values found in its walls as work progressed. This soon presented serious possibilities of caving and timbering, not to mention difficulty with the hoist used to bring up both ore and waste rock. Therefore, after the shaft had gone down some thirty feet, the dimensions were reduced, and, from then on, it became a two-compartment shaft. It followed the general dip of the original discovery- (or shaft-) vein at an angle of nearly seventy-five degrees from the horizontal. At this angle it ultimately passed behind the vein, which flattened with depth. This vein varied in width from ten to twenty feet. Some 150 feet west of it was the so-called "footwall vein," which in many ways resembled a dike. No silver values were ever found behind or west of it, and its own values were too low to be worked profitably.

The shaft vein, whence came the original pay-ore, was the most westerly of all the productive zones in the mine. Many of the other veins did not outcrop on the surface; they ran together, branched, and converged again in a way that kept the engineering staff on the alert. Some of these veins ran from northeast to southwest, and some were practically north-south veins. Their complexity and relation to each other presented problems to the experts who visited the property. The writer lays no claim to mineralogical knowledge, but it has always seemed to him that the best explanation of the ore-formations of the Big Silver was that given by one visiting engineer. He characterized the so-called veins as not true veins as ordinarily encountered, but, rather, a series of replacement lenses representing molten metal that had poured into fractures in the rock. Where the structure was loose and weak, the zone of enrichment was wider and of higher value; in very hard and tight formations, it was the reverse. These replacement lenses largely paralleled each other both in their strike and dip, always tending to approach more nearly to the horizontal as depth increased. While it was not hard to locate the footwall, the hanging-wall was a very different and elusive thing, if it existed at all. At various distances to the east, as the mine went down, crosscuts, run easterly through the vein material and the intervening barren rock, would almost invariably encounter a so-called "mud slip," a bluish clay-like seam in the rock, beyond which no more values ever were found. It was a weak and strange sort of hanging-wall for a wide and rich vein-system, according to the experts, but it was about the closest thing to a hanging-wall that was ever found.

When the incline shaft reached fifty feet, a station, or first level, was cut, so that drifts and crosscuts could be run from that point. The next level was around ninety feet; thereafter, for several hundred feet, stations were cut about every fifty feet. Thus, the third level was about 130 feet underground; the sixth, 300 feet; the ninth, 450 feet; and so on.

At about 115 feet in the shaft, the structure began to change visibly, even to a layman. That was practically the bottom of the oxide ores. Below that lay the sulphide zone.

Ore was soon being produced simultaneously from several faces, as various drifts and crosscuts were advanced on the several levels. Thus was production quite sharply stepped-up in a very few months. Silver was bringing one of its record high prices, and the businessmen in the management, while laying no claim to mining wisdom, were convinced that it always makes sense to sell as much as possible of any commodity when its price is higher than usual and profits correspondingly greater. Friction soon developed over this policy. John Kelly felt from the beginning that when the property was once properly opened up, the greatest amount of wealth could be derived from "stocking" the mine, as he called it, rather than through its long-continued development as a mine. The Bakersfield group generally was opposed to anything savoring of stock promotion. They preferred to cash-in on their fortune in the form it had taken, and not via the mining-stock exchanges. It was an argument with two sides; Kelly honestly felt that the public wanted to speculate in mines. It was better to give them a real, honest-to-goodness mine for their money, said he, than the paper frauds too often sold them. Feeling that way, he sensed a lost opportunity when the ore began pouring out in too abundant a stream.

It is interesting to note the variations in the price of silver during the early months of the mine. As it turned out, the company actually had less than a year to enjoy the fluctuations in price *above* the dollar level fixed by the Pittman Act (which provided that the U. S. treasury should purchase domestically-produced silver at a minimum price of $1.00 per ounce, until it had replaced all the silver it had exported as a war measure, chiefly to India, in World War I).

Cars 1 to 116 brought prices ranging from $1.02 to as high as $1.34 per ounce, an average, as related to volume shipped, of better than $1.20. Also, the date of shipments of some of the richest ore coincided with the market's peak; for example, 37½ tons of sacked high-grade, shipped in February 1920, brought $1.30 an ounce for its silver. Those 37½ tons netted the company $43,183.45. Another oddity of all the ore from the mine was the almost-uniform quantity of gold it contained. Though the silver content might increase sharply, the gold stayed around $8 or $10 a ton. (Even the sacked high-grade, just mentioned, only ran a little over $20 a ton in gold, although the silver content of several tons of it was 3,803 ounces to the ton.) While on the subject of rich ore, I believe the highest value ever found in perceptible quantity was about 13,000 ounces of silver per ton, which came from rock in the "Treasure Box Vein" on the third level. This so-called Treasure Box was a veritable jeweler's showcase of glistening fluorides of silver, and the richest of ruby silver or cerargyrite. The drift and stope here were places where visitors' eyes seemed truly to bulge.

Silver produced by the California Rand brought the Pittman Act price from June 1920 until just three years later, when the purchases authorized by the act had all been completed. In June 1923, the first price under the changed conditions was 65⅝ cents an ounce, and from then, on, the company saw its silver bring prices as low as 53¾ cents and as high as 72⅜ cents, but unfortunately the generally prevailing price was nearer the lower figure.

These later prices take us ahead of our story, but they are mentioned here to point the wisdom of the argument, made by the majority of the owners, that ore should be produced as rapidly as possible, consistent with the proper development of the mine. From the beginning of two cars shipped in June 1919, this was stepped-up to seven in July, nineteen in August, and twenty in September. Installation of equipment, and concentration on much needed development, slowed production for the next few months, but by the spring of 1920 fifteen or twenty cars a month went to the Selby Smelter. By October 1920 the record for shipments, thus far, was reached with forty-three cars. This was only twice exceeded in subsequent years; in August of 1921 when forty-five cars of ore were shipped, and in the following November when shipments totaled forty-four.

MONTHLY DIVIDENDS AND EXTRAS

Mention has already been made of the division of the proceeds of the first twenty cars of ore prior to incorporation, an act made necessary by the sale of an eighth-interest by Nosser and Williams. That disbursement, totaling over $100,000, was made to a group that several weeks before had assessed themselves $2,000 to provide expense money. In January of 1920, only a month after the stock of the new corporation had been issued, the directors voted a dividend of two cents per share, or $25,600, to be paid monthly until further action. During that year of 1920, the stockholders received twenty-four cents a share, or $307,200. A year later came the first extra or special dividend, at the rate of ten cents per share, or $128,000. The same extra disbursements were made in March and July of 1921, so in that year the stockholders received a total of $691,200. Dividends continued uninterruptedly until March 4, 1924, and more irregularly for some years longer.

OLD TIES ARE BROKEN

Every business organization of any size experiences controversies within itself. Sometimes the differences are relatively minor and capable of compromise, but often the opponents believe so earnestly in their contentions that matters have to be fought out. Such a breach began to manifest itself shortly after incorporation of the Big Silver mine. One of the grounds for friction, namely, the proper policy as to its development, has just been narrated. John Kelly had been elected not only president but general manager of the company. Though animated by the best intentions in the world, some of the supervision he gave the property fell short of the standards believed essential by others among the larger owners. Several of these men were his long-time friends and political intimates. In the first days of the mine they all trusted each other in the best traditions of friendship. Innumerable formative steps were taken and valuable service rendered by all, in a spirit of "one for all and all for one." With due respect to Kelly's sincerity, it must be remembered that in general business-experience several of the other men had carried far greater responsibilities in financial and administrative affairs. The California Rand Silver Mine mushroomed into a thriving activity with a multiplicity of problems so rapidly, that any competent executive would have found it a challenge to his powers. In John Kelly's case, as lacks and errors in his management made themselves apparent, suggestions and offers of help were voiced by some of the other owners. Probably they came too fast for the peace of mind of the general manager. More and more he resented having his authority or decisions questioned, and he began to draw apart from the old friends who tried to advise him. He made much of the fact that he had long worked among miners, while these critical associates were businessmen from a distance. The fact that they had little or no mining experience disqualified them entirely in his eyes, even though many of the problems clamoring for solution were by no means peculiar to mining. This friction finally culminated in Kelly tendering his written resignation as general manager at a meeting of the directors on March 29, 1920. Kelly did not attend this meeting nor any further meetings of the board until several years later. The writer had been made assistant secretary of the company some months before, and, as Miss Coons, the secretary, was also absent when Kelly's resignation was received, the board directed me to advise him of its acceptance, together with the regrets of the directors present and their appreciation of his services. The regrets at the changed relations were sincere. In several cases lifelong friendships were threatened by the strained relations that now ensued. All those active in the management, notwithstanding their differences with John Kelly over policy, liked him personally and held Mrs. Kelly in particularly high esteem. Hers was a warm and kindly personality, and any of the owners who visited Randsburg in those days were always sure of a friendly welcome from her. Even in the stress of legal battles with her husband, no one could harbor ill will towards Mrs. Kelly. Miss Coons was in an especially trying position; on the one side, she had been a warm friend of the Kellys for many years; on the other, were the closest friends and associates of her life as a business woman and officeholder in Bakersfield.

Kelly was still president but he engaged in little further activity in that capacity. Jack Jameson was appointed general manager by the board. During the fifteen months of life remaining to him, the new general manager infused the organization with a spirit that continued long after his guiding hand was removed. Not a mining man by experience or training, Jack Jameson possessed powers of observation and a keen practical knack for licking tough problems that proved a most excellent substitute for technical preparation. He hired Charles S. Meroney as accountant and office manager. He tried out several engineers until he found the one who would understand the Big Silver. Similarly he developed good shift-bosses and a superintendent, and soon he knew where to ask for the best professional or mechanical advice to be had. Finally, as a major owner of the property and a man of unquestioned integrity, he possessed the entire confidence of the great majority of the stockholders.

A MILL IS NEEDED

The heavy freight rates and the numerous charges of the smelter, as well as some of the latter's methods of operation, created problems in themselves. Very early in the mine's development the question of the erection of a mill was agitated. It seems to the writer that credit is due a directorate, made up of so few mining men, for refusing to rush the construction of a mill before the management was fully informed as to the precise type best adapted to the ore. Had a mill been erected in the summer of 1919, capable of treating efficiently the oxide ores then being produced, it would have become relatively obsolete when the sulphide zone was reached a little while later. The mill that was ultimately erected handled a vast tonnage of rock with a high percentage of values recovered, but it was made up of very different ore than that composing the early shipments.

The smelter company itself began studying the problem during the first winter of the mine's operation, and for a time considered building its own mill on property adjacent to the mine. Out of their study of the problem, one of the smelter's engineers reported in April 1920 that there was in sight 10,500 tons of shipping ore of a value of $1,113,000; and

10,000 tons of ore of milling grade of a value averaging $26 per ton, or $260,000. Ore already shipped or on the dump was not included, so this nine-months old mine had $1,373,000 in sight, regardless of any new bodies that might be uncovered. (The first 104 cars that had been shipped totaled 4,070 tons, and averaged 0.34 ounce in gold and 121.65 ounces in silver.) The smelter also advised against immediate construction of a mill.

It was at this time that the first smelting-contract was executed, to run for one year. The mine undertook to ship fifteen or twenty cars per month, but reserved the right to withhold any ores containing more than five per cent antimony. Mention has been earlier made of the refractory character of the California Rand Silver ore. All of it contained, in addition to silver and gold, varying proportions of antimony, arsenic, and sulphur. The Selby Smelter deducted a penalty for significant quantities of the last three minerals. Nevertheless the Selby Smelter's management welcomed generous shipments of California Rand rock because, being a siliceous-schist ore, it made an ideal flux for the ores of the American Smelting and Refining Co.'s Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mine in Idaho.

At the first annual meeting of the stockholders in September 1920, Ed Grady and Alex Wark were added to the board. Wark, an oil geologist of Bakersfield, was one of the Olcese group. (He was killed in an automobile accident on March 20, 1924.) E. L. Blanck also replaced Kelly as a director, and for some years represented the Kelly interests on the board. As the breach between Kelly and his old friends widened, Kelly turned elsewhere for advice and assistance. E. L. Blanck had operated very successfully both as a merchant and oil leaser in the westside oilfields of Kern County, around the town of Fellows. About the time of this meeting, he made some form of agreement with Mr. and Mrs. Kelly whereby he acquired part of their stock, and, for several years thereafter, he proceeded to sell a portion of their remaining holdings to numerous purchasers.

The new board of directors elected Alfred Harrell the president of the company, a post he occupied until the final dissolution of the corporation. Seldom has a group of stockholders, most of them totally unfamiliar with the business engaged in, been more fortunate in their choice of a chief executive. Alfred Harrell united tact, diplomacy, and great personal charm with boldness, an adroit grasp of difficult situations, and, above all, absolute honor and honesty. For all of this, the new president could be induced only at irregular periods to collect any salary for his services. On the other hand, one of his first acts was to recommend the construction of more comfortable living-quarters for the miners, together with a club house "for reading and amusement."

THE GRADY LEASE COMES INTO ITS OWN

For a year and a half, Grady and those associated with him in his lease had been developing their ground southeast of the discovery shaft. Ben Sill, now an owner in the main mine, was one of Grady's partners in the lease. Fred Gunther of Bakersfield was another. They had sunk a vertical shaft through a few hundred feet of sand and gravel to reach rock in place. When they finally encountered values at considerable depth, a nice question arose that could have resulted in expensive and unpleasant litigation. Were they entitled to the ore they found, or did it apex in the company's own vein-structure? If the latter proved to be the case, then the owner of the apex could, under California mining law, follow and mine it regardless of surface boundaries. The "Uranium" group of claims exhibited several examples of underground apexes. This is not the place to explore the technical nature of such geology and the mining laws on the subject. An ordinary printed mining lease, designed for the prospecting of new ground, had been executed with Grady, and its provisions were too loose and vague to answer the fine questions that now arose between lessor and lessees. Fortunately there was a basis of friendship, interests in common, and mutual trust on which to start. Led by Alfred Harrell for the owners and Ed Grady for the other group, the disposition to effect an amicable compromise won out. Everyone was the winner by this decision, when the costs of protracted litigation are considered. A pleasant by-product was the firm friendship that here really took root between Ben Sill on the one hand and Alfred Harrell, Al Hughes, and several others of the controlling owners.

By the end of the year, formal agreement was reached. Grady canceled his old lease. The company made him a new one for a parcel 120 feet square, immediately surrounding his 313-foot shaft. He was given the right to mine it, within vertical boundaries, to a depth of 450 feet below the collar of his shaft until January 25, 1922. He was given a year longer to remove all ore from his dump.

Grady began to ship ore, as soon as this settlement was consummated. In a little over thirteen months his lease sent roughly 450 freight cars of ore to the smelter. The net returns from it, after deducting freight and smelter charges, totaled $1,097,053.85. The California Rand Silver Incorporated, as owner and lessor of the ground, collected $194,179.24 in royalties from such shipments.

After the last Grady lease expired, that ground became an integral part of the main workings which already virtually surrounded it. Shafts, drifts, and crosscuts were connected for safety, ventilation, and convenience. Although a few other lessees continued their search for wealth for several more years, the collection of these royalties virtually wrote the final chapter of the California Rand's leasing experience.

THE COYOTE IS HEARD FROM

Running along the easterly sideline of the most easterly of the "Uranium" claims was a mining claim known as the Coyote. At its nearest point, it was somewhere around 900 feet southeasterly from the Discovery Shaft. On the surface, the Coyote was entirely covered by the loose overburden of the desert. Any rock in place within its boundaries was probably several hundred feet beneath the gravel. On January 3, 1921, Jack Nosser informed the directors that E. L. Blanck, John Kelly, and a miner named Harry Alderson were sinking a shaft on the Coyote. Their only too-apparent objective was to intercept the eastward dipping ore bodies of the big mine. The company of course felt it owned the apex of all ore which surfaced around the Discovery Shaft. Blanck was in attendance at the meeting and presented the Coyote's defense. Its owners claimed all ore within the boundaries of that claim, because of a theory they held as to the formation and occurrence of ores in that vicinity. The question was asked: since no ore was visible in the Coyote's workings, how could any theory be advanced concerning wholly unknown and perhaps nonexistent ore?

Thus began a long controversy that finally resulted in litigation and innumerable attempts to work out a compromise of the rights of the contending companies. To detail the various offensive and defensive steps, taken by both sides, would make tedious reading at this late day. Suffice it to say that, although the lawsuits were never tried and nothing came of the compromise proposals, the Big Silver emerged as victor on all important issues, in that it retained peaceful possession of the property and ores claimed by it. Both the Coyote claimants and the Big Silver's defenders were put to heavy expense in support of their positions, but in the case of the latter the outcome certainly justified the effort and expenditure.

The hostile position of the Coyote owners, taken at the outset of this quarrel, naturally increased the friction already existing among the stockholders of the California Rand. Jameson's management was criticized on every conceivable basis, supported by charges of one or two ex-employees. Rumors abounded as to the Coyote's claims and plans. A fighting atmosphere enveloped both mine and board meetings. The occasion produced the first of a number of masterly strokes by Harrell in defense of the company. He called a special meeting of stockholders to be held on March 19, 1921, to decide whether the present board should continue in office and pursue its policy of mining ore, developing the mine, paying dividends, and defending the company's apexes, or should it be removed from office. The opposition was taken by surprise. They had been conducting a guerrilla offensive and suddenly found themselves on the defensive.

Few stockholders' meetings have been so heavily attended. Out of 1,280,000 shares, 643,795 were present in person and 623,235 by proxy. Only 12,970 shares went unrepresented.

While Kelly and Blanck were both present, neither took the floor. Two of their mining engineers, who were nominal stockholders, spoke for them. Where the air had been rife with threats and rumors, it proved to be a very different thing to make and prove formal charges in a stockholders' meeting. C. S. Meroney was now the company's superintendent. A new engineer, who was to prove his mettle with the company, Tim Walsh, was also present. They and Alfred Harrell answered all the charges and criticisms that had been hurled at the management. When they had closed, a ringing "vote of appreciation, confidence and respect . . . to our Board of Directors and our Manager" was moved by one of the smaller stockholders and seconded by another. It carried by 876,000 votes against 390,430. One of the majority then moved the *removal* of the existing board of directors. The proponent had to explain the subtlety of this tactic. A unanimous vote defeated it. The opposition did not cease its fight, but from that time, on, it was confined to the outside. Never again was there a contest for control within the company.

MINE DEVELOPMENT

A little later than this, the original shaft reached its final bottom, with some 660 feet of vertical depth, at the eleventh level of the mine. It had always been practically free of water. Its utility for both exploration of new ore bodies and the hoisting of ore was becoming more and more impaired, as additional levels were cut and developed. About April of 1921 work was started on a new, vertical, working shaft of two compartments, a little northeast of the Grady Lease and five or six hundred feet easterly from the Number One shaft. It was expected to cut the ore body at about 700 feet in depth.

The milling problem had continued to receive careful study. An experienced milling engineer, Murray N. Coleman, had been engaged to supervise construction of a mill and later superintend its operation.

A chapter could be written on the ever-urgent problem of an adequate water supply for this desert mine. The company spent much time and considerable money in an attempt to develop springs on the farther slopes of Red Mountain. Generally, these were disappointing in the volume they produced. The old Yellow Aster mine had a subsidiary water company, whose equipment was rather dilapidated. The California Rand advanced money to rehabilitate this source, to be repaid from future water bills. This line broke down frequently, and, more than once, operation of the mill (and sometimes even of the mine itself) was interrupted because of an insufficiency of water. Occasionally resort was had to water hauled by the Santa Fe Railway in tank cars, which was, of course, an expensive alternative. As the vertical Number Two shaft went down, more and more underground water was encountered. It helped solve the shortage, but raising the water occasioned more expense and interfered with the hoisting of both ore and waste rock. By the fall of 1922 it had become necessary to install regular pumping equipment. To the end of the mine's operation, water for the mill remained an ever-recurring problem.

THE PASSING OF A LEADER

The new shaft would require a lofty and substantial gallows-frame, to take care of the large tonnage of ore anticipated after the erection of a mill. The company would also need a very heavy type of hoist to serve this shaft. Such equipment is not only expensive, but frequently it must be manufactured to order, entailing tedious delays. Late in May, Jack Jameson heard that the Goldfield Consolidated Mining Co. in Nevada was about to dismantle some of its major works and would have a most modern hoist for sale. He drove from Randsburg to Tonopah during a bad storm, inspected the hoist, closed its purchase, and started back for the mine. He had a heavy cold on arrival, and was running a fever that proved unusually stubborn. Mastoiditis developed and he was rushed to a hospital in Bakersfield. An operation was performed successfully; however, post-operative pneumonia set in, and early in the morning of June 18, 1921, Jack Jameson passed away. Death was to invade the ranks of the original owners and associates many times before they disposed of the mine, but this was his first entrance on the scene. Truly could it be said in this case that death loves a shining mark.

A few days after Jameson's death, the directors elected Charley Meroney to the vacant post of general manager. He filled that position competently until the corporation terminated its affairs, and developed a really remarkable familiarity with the structure of the ore bodies. He never owned a share of the company's stock, but no paid employee of a prosperous corporation ever displayed greater devotion and fidelity to his tasks.

THE MILL IS BUILT

While these events were occurring, an important decision was made. Coleman demonstrated to the satisfaction of the directors that the most favorable method of treating the ores was the oil-flotation process, preceded by some mechanical separation that would probably save eighty per cent of their values. Because of very tight patents held on the oil-flotation process, the company must pay two and one-half per cent royalties to the patent-holders on anything recovered by flotation. Of course, with eighty per cent already saved mechanically, the two and one-half per cent would only apply to the remaining twenty per cent. Contracts were let with the Joshua Hendy Iron Works for the construction of a mill of 100 tons daily capacity, and in August ground was broken immediately to the east of the new Number Two shaft. It was hoped that the cost of construction would not exceed $100,000.

About this time, the stockholders were informed that the government had finally agreed to the figure of $1,299,000 as the discovery value of the property for purposes of depletion in figuring income tax. This was an increase of over $400,000 from the figure tentatively fixed a year before. Forty-three cents an ounce was established as an allowance for depletion. These are dry statistics, but they were the outcome of long and tedious negotiations carried on by the writer, and were of vital concern in view of the tax obligations of so heavy a producer.

Near the beginning of the mine's third year, the management, in the letter that always accompanied the monthly dividend checks, proudly reviewed the first twenty-five months of the property's history. Five hundred and forty-six freight cars had been shipped, containing 22,000 tons of ore, netting the owners $1,729,170.80, after freight and smelter charges. From this the stockholders had already received in dividends $0.75½ per share, or $966,400. Not only had all expenses and taxes been paid, but the company had built a modern rooming-house, a boarding-house, assay office, storehouse, compressor room, change room, hoist house, a dozen or so cottages for employees — all paid for — and had a surplus of more than a quarter of a million dollars in the bank. The directors, who were such novices at mining, were no longer on the defensive.

In September 1921, the writer succeeded Miss Coons as secretary, largely at her suggestion, as she had not actively participated in the work of the secretary for some time. Harrell and I continued as president and secretary down to the dissolution of the company in 1930.

The new mill began operating early in December. By Christmas Day it was treating 100 tons daily and effecting a saving of ninety-four per cent of values. The first concentrates produced by the new mill were shipped to the smelter late in the following January. Within six months, steps were taken to double the mill's capacity to 200 tons of ore a day. The cost of mill operation by the summer of 1922 was about $5.00 a ton, of which lost water made up $1.00, and another $1.00 went for depreciation on a three-year write-off basis. After a few months this cost was reduced to $3.14, of which $0.75 went to write off the investment. With recovery of values running well over ninety per cent, this was an efficient operation. In that rather early day of the oil-flotation process, the California Rand's mill attracted much attention and drew many visitors. Although $100,000 had been appropriated for its construction, the mill actually cost about $85,000.

During all this period, exploration and development of the underground areas were pushed. Monthly advancement of all the shafts, drifts, raises, and crosscuts ran from 600 to over 1000 feet. Very significant ore bodies were uncovered in the northern portions of the fifth and sixth levels, and one of the mine's largest bodies of ore was uncovered in a south drift of the ninth level. Shipping ore was practically continuous along several hundred feet of this drift.

MORE COYOTE TROUBLE

Again optimism was tempered by the fact that on February 7, 1922, the owners of the Coyote claim relocated or "jumped," as the saying goes in mining camps, two of the California Rand's claims, Uranium 7 and Uranium 10. The company had been in peaceful possession of them for two and a half years. Uranium 10 adjoined the Coyote to the northeast, across its end-line, while Uranium 7 lay along the northwesterly side-line of Uranium 10. The California Rand's underground workings penetrated the jumped claims in several places. This was an open declaration of war. The company's directors immediately appropriated a special legal defense fund of $100,000, taking pains to let that fact be generally known. About this period, the eminent mining attorney, William E. Colby of San Francisco, was retained by the California Rand for counsel on the more technical phases of the problem, such as apex rights, underground apexes, and such intricate questions. Director Blanck's resignation, which had been tendered to the board just five days before the relocation of the contested claims, assumed special significance.

Not many weeks after, as a result of an underground discovery of low-grade milling-ore, the California Rand itself located two new claims, Uranium 11 and Uranium 12. Eleven adjoined Uranium 10 on the southeast, and Uranium 12 was southwest of 11. For a long time, the company had been sinking its Number Four shaft on some placer claims to the east of its main holdings. This underground discovery of ore in place was made from the Number Four shaft. The effect was more or less to play leap-frog with, or outflank, the Coyote opponents, as Uranium 11 and 12 claims lay almost immediately east of the Coyote, and so wedged the latter in between properties of the California Rand.

Some of us, who were closely watching our opponents, decided the time had passed for parliamentary formalities and purely defensive tactics. Two steps were taken that had far-reaching results. First, at my suggestion, we did a little claim-jumping ourselves, albeit with tongue in cheek. Our opponents' indignation was earnest and vocal. Far more important was a damage suit, filed by Ben Sill against John Kelly. It will be recalled that Kelly, for $37,500 cash, had sold Sill a large interest in the trust that preceded incorporation. The property of that trust consisted of the claims that the Randsburg Silver Mining Co. of Arizona, owner of the Coyote claims and largely controlled by Kelly, was now trying to take away from the Big Silver. Was it not therefore logical for Sill to seek damages for this undermining-of-title to the property which he had bought in good faith from Kelly? Some of us thought so. Though this suit never came to trial, many observers believed that concern over its possible consequences was a major reason for the less-combative spirit displayed thereafter by Kelly toward the company.

By a strange irony of fate, underground developments soon afterwards made it more and more evident that, at considerable depth, the richer ore-bodies were swinging to the north. On the seventh, eighth, tenth, and eleventh levels, considerable good milling-ore was being blocked out month after month. Several bodies of good shipping-ore, when followed to the southeast, petered out almost literally along the Coyote's sideline. As time went on, it became apparent that, regardless of who owned the Coyote, the ore within its lines was not too rich a prize anyhow.

By the end of 1922, the capacity of the mill had again been doubled to 400 tons a day. Careful study was being given to the feasibility of constructing a plant, adjoining the mill, that would reduce the concentrates to silver and gold bullion. The idea was an attractive one, but, by late spring of 1923, it was abandoned. One of the reasons for that decision was a much more favorable smelting contract, offered by the American Smelting and Refining people; supposedly the proposed reduction plant aided them in reaching their decision, too.

On October 18, 1923, a very promising body of ore, in which gold predominated (with a value of about $25 per ton), was discovered in a north drift of the eleventh level, remote, incidentally, from the Coyote line.

LATTER DAYS AT THE MINE

By February 1924, it had become evident that much heavier exploration and development were required, if the mill was to continue to operate at its newly-enlarged capacity of 400 tons a day. The Pittman Act price for silver was already past, and it had been decided that a surplus of half a million dollars over all contingencies must be maintained. So, with the dividend paid on March 4, 1924, went a notice to stockholders that dividends were suspended, and that search for new ore-bodies and their development were to be the primary objectives of the management. The stockholders had received over $3,000,000 in dividends up to this time. Extraction in the mill reached its record high of 96.02 per cent during this period.

In June of that year, dividends were resumed, but for one cent per share a month, half the previous rate.

By the time of the fifth annual stockholders meeting in September 1924, several notable milestones had been passed. Ore extracted to date totaled $10,384,537.74, and the underground workings were over eleven and a half miles in extent. Tim Walsh reported $1,500,000 of ore in sight. Another of the old-time, special, ten-cent dividends was paid in November.

A POSTPRANDIAL INTERLUDE

More interesting in retrospect was a purely social evening that same month. A dinner was given the officers and directors at the mine on November 6, 1924, that should have had a court reporter present. Hamp Williams and Jack Nosser, ordinarily taciturn men, were induced to retell the story of their discovery. I would give a lot to be able to reproduce Nosser's speech. His rough life as a poor miner, who had suddenly struck it rich, sounded like something out of Mark Twain, Irvin Cobb, or Will Rogers. Soon after he became affluent, another desert character had sued him for alienating his wife's affections. Some of us saw to it that he engaged a good lawyer to defend him. Nosser told of his conference with this lawyer. After debating many points pro and con, Jack told his attorney that he wanted a jury trial and that he wished to take the witness stand. The lawyer doubted the wisdom of this course, but Jack insisted. "I want," said he, "to have 'em look me over good and decide how much alienatin' of affections I could do!" Jack was small of figure and features, and he knew the toll which his long years of hard life in the deserts and mountains had taken.

On this same evening he told of his original poor opinion of Alfred Harrell, for whom by this time he had the greatest admiration. At their first meeting, he had seriously presented Harrell with a piece of rich ore and had asked him what he thought it was. Harrell, who never claimed to be a miner, had replied, "It looks to me like a piece of badly decomposed silver." Jack had spat disgustedly, and had remarked to a bystander, "And that's the d—— fool who came out here to finance our mine!"

Another highlight of the dinner party was the tribute Ed Grady paid to Alfred Harrell for the wise and far-sighted leadership he had contributed to the enterprise. This was almost Grady's last appearance among us, and his extemporaneous speech was actually his valedictory. He closed it by proposing that all of us make it our business to send Alfred Harrell to the U. S. Senate. While this was laughed off (especially by Harrell) as just a bit of the exuberance of the occasion, Grady said it with the greatest earnestness.

In retrospect, this dinner marked the early afternoon of the California Rand Silver Mine. There was still the buoyancy of newly-discovered ore-bodies, and the company had just decided to sink the Number Two shaft 500 feet deeper, in search of a recurring ore-zone. Maybe there was good ore down there; we had made so many astonishing discoveries before. Our Coyote troubles were virtually all behind us. Nearly all the good friends who made up the management and directorate were still alive, and seemed well and hearty.

AN OFFER TO BUY THE MINE

Then in December of that year (1924), we were startled to receive an offer of $2.00 a share for our stock. A certain Charles V. Bobb of New York made the offer and posted $25,000 forfeit money to evince his good faith. He was to be allowed sixty days for a full examination of the mine. All stockholders who wanted to sell at this price were to escrow their stock. Actually 1,200,717 shares were so escrowed. Bobb and his experts swarmed over the property and gave it a thorough exploration. On March 31, 1925, Bobb formally declined to buy, and the option money was divided among the depositing stockholders.

A few days later, on April 12, Ed Grady died. He was succeeded as a director by W. W. Colm. Blanck had resumed his place on the board a little earlier, and, in September of this same year, John Kelly again became a director.

At the 1925 annual meeting of stockholders it was evident that the intensive development had been well conceived. Despite heavy production since his last figures, Walsh now estimated ore-in-sight, as of July 1, 1925, at $1,893,000. Production had nearly reached $12,000,000, and there were over fifteen miles of underground workings. The company had gone back to a monthly two-cent dividend in January; it had paid a ten-cent special also, but by December ore-reserves were beginning to fail, the future of silver was not so bright, and so the dividend was cut back to one cent a month, commencing January 4, 1926.

THE FATEFUL NINETEENTH LEVEL

A few weeks later, the Number Two shaft was completed at 1543.6 feet, and the nineteenth-level station cut at 1500 feet. Here, if anywhere, lay the further fortunes of the mine. Extensive exploration on the fourteenth level had proved disappointing. Was there only a barren zone of several hundred vertical feet, or had the mine actually bottomed at around 900 or 950 feet in depth? That question led the management to engage several of the most eminent geologists in the country, like Andrew C. Lawson and W. H. Wiley, to expert the mine in the few years ahead, before the mine's own showing at depth gave the final answer.

The shadows were lengthening over the mine by the time of the 1926 annual stockholders' meeting. President Harrell reported frankly that, for the first time in its history, the mine's prospects looked discouraging. Blocked-out ore had shrunk to less than $1,000,000, the values in the remaining ores were lower, and the price of silver had dropped alarmingly. Suspension of dividends was again clearly in sight. The mill had reduced its operations to two and soon after to one shift a day. Much development work had been done in the search for ore, three more miles of underground extensions having been added in the past year. With the Grady lease's figures included, the mine had produced almost $13,000,000. The all-important nineteenth level crosscut had been driven 756 feet without encountering any values, and drifts to the north from it had been similarly disappointing.

The drop in silver forced the company to cut wages twelve and one-half per cent, and, at the same time, dividends were stopped. Top salaries took larger cuts. The workmen refused to accept the lower wage, so, on September 30, 1926, the mine closed down, save for the few men necessary to keep it unwatered. Work on a small scale resumed a few weeks later, and by March of 1927 the nineteenth-level crosscut had been run 1160 feet east of the shaft. A body of shipping-ore was uncovered between the eleventh and twelfth levels, and New Year 1927 was celebrated by a ten-cent special dividend, followed by resumption of regular dividends in March. Now, however, the rate was only one cent a share every other month.

Death had struck again at the founders of the mine. On January 5, 1927, John Kelly, while traveling on the Mint Canyon Highway in Los Angeles County, got out of his car to help change a tire and a passing truck hit and killed him.

Modest production continued through the year, with an absence of any sensational developments. Then, in March 1928, brief hopes were raised by a freak discovery of gold-bearing ore on a north drift of the nineteenth level. Some of it ran as high as $50 a ton in value. Unfortunately no commercial body of it was ever found, despite thorough exploration of the vicinity.

As the end loomed only too plainly, efforts were made to locate some other property, to which the company's organization and equipment might be transferred. An old gold mine in the Kernville region was examined, but the terms of its acquisition were too onerous. An option was actually taken on a lead silver prospect near Yucca in Mohave County, Arizona, and several thousand dollars were spent on its exploration. It proved disappointing, and was abandoned after a few months.

Operation of the California Rand by the company was finally suspended late in April 1929, after which only a small crew was maintained to keep the mine unwatered and guard the machinery. The shutdown followed an unfavorable report by W. H. Wiley, a well-known mining authority. The directors were willing to expend their remaining funds on further deep exploration, but not in the face of expert advice that such a step would be useless. To add to the somber atmosphere, the company's general manager, Charley Meroney, had become seriously ill. This illness proved fatal a few months later.

Near the end of operations, numerous offers were made the management. Even though the mine seemed worked out, it possessed a large amount of modern and expensive mining machinery that was in excellent condition. Most of the prospective buyers seemed chiefly interested in this equipment. Finally one of them, Henry W. Klipstein, Jr., a member of an old Bakersfield family, paid $50,000 cash for all the company's property except cash in bank and receivables. This sale was made in August 1929, and ratified by the stockholders at their annual meeting on September 12, at which time they voted to dissolve the corporation.

The necessary legal steps were taken and formal dissolution by the courts was decreed in January 1930. One last step caused much delay; the discharge by the federal government of any further liability for income taxes. This took many months, so that the final dissolution dividend of $0.0559 per share was only paid on November 1, 1930.

In the letter that accompanied the payment appeared this interesting information:

> Attesting the wisdom of the sale of the property, stockholders are advised that the further exploitation of the mine, following its disposal, failed to disclose any new ore bodies; the mine has since been resold and the history of operations since the date of our sale confirms the conclusion reached by the board of directors, that it could not have been further worked to advantage by this corporation.

There was a human side to this decision that the letter did not reveal. The management prided itself on its record of safe operation. Of course with hundreds of men busy about a large mine, accidents are unavoidable, but every conceivable precaution was taken to minimize them. For years the company enjoyed a record of no fatalities. Only once was that broken in our whole ten years' operation. A shift boss instructed a miner working in a stope to install a stull before picking down any more rock from overhead. At blasting time when the man did not appear, the boss went back to the stope and found the miner dead under some huge rocks on the floor of the drift. Timber for the stull which the shift boss had ordered lay unused nearby. The miner had decided to take a chance — and lost.

Near the end of our operations, Charley Meroney had told the directors that sampling revealed that one huge column of ore undoubtedly contained twelve to fifteen thousand dollars in value. It was deep underground and supported a lot of the upper workings in such a manner that any attempt to mine it would probably cause a major caving of rock, with great risk to any miners engaged in the task. He recommended that it not be disturbed, and the directors unanimously approved of that policy. Some months after our sale we were told that an attempt was made to mine this dangerously-located ore, either by leasers or by employees of subsequent owners. Just as Meroney had warned, a man was killed in the process.

SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS

The company's *net* returns from ore and concentrates, after deduction of all freight and smelter charges, from its discovery in 1919 to the final shutdown in 1929, totaled $11,592,562.49. While the writer only has first-hand knowledge of the property during that period, a letter from the present owner of the mine, Frank W. Royer, dated June 12, 1952, contains more recent information which I am including here for the record. Royer wrote that he "concluded the purchase of the Kelly and the adjoining O'Neils property some years ago . . . have taken out around $3,000,000."

I know that after our corporation sold its physical assets to Klipstein, various leasers mined different portions of our old property on a small scale for some years. I believe Royer's figure of $3,000,000 must include all that they produced. He has since told me that there has been no production from the O'Neils property, which adjoins the Big Silver to the southwest.

To compute the *total* production of the Big Silver down to the time of our sale, one would have to increase the above figure of over $11,500,000 very substantially. The addition would of course include both the total freight and smelter charges for the ten-year period. Unfortunately a fire, that occurred shortly after we sold the mine, destroyed my records containing this information. Certainly the total would run in the neighborhood of $15,000,000.

Big Silver's 200-odd stockholders received total dividends of $3.5359 per share, or an aggregate of $4,525,952. This does not include the net proceeds of the first twenty cars of ore that were specially divided in 1919 (over $100,000), nor the option money of $25,000 forfeited by Chas. V. Bobb, which went to all but a few stockholders.

Over $4,500,000 went to stockholders, who (outside of the initial contributions of money and labor made by Messrs. Kelly, Nosser, Williams, Jameson and Miss Coons) invested just $2,000 in the mine itself.

CONCLUSION

I have noted from time to time through this narrative the death of most of the principal figures in the Big Silver's story. Jack Nosser died in Santa Barbara on October 15, 1928. Several of the others passed away after the dissolution of the company. Ben Sill, W. W. Colm, and Louis Olcese all died not long after we sold the mine. J. A. Hughes' death occurred on July 19, 1932. Alfred Harrell was spared for many more years, but he passed away on December 14, 1946, following a brief illness. E. L. Blanck died in May 1952, while I was writing this story.

I have not seen nor heard from Hamp Williams for a great many years, but I am told he is still mining somewhere on the Mojave desert. Unlike his associates, he did not long retain much of the material fortune resulting from his discovery. An honest, friendly man, he was a better prospector than investor, and was an easy prey to high-pressure salesmen. I hope he will again strike it rich. Mrs. Kelly and Miss Coons are now living in Los Angeles. I believe we four are all who remain of the active officers and directors of the Big Silver, California's largest silver producer.

Northernmost Spanish Frontier in California

As Shown by the Distribution of Geographic Names

By H. F. RAUP *and* WILLIAM B. POUNDS, JR.

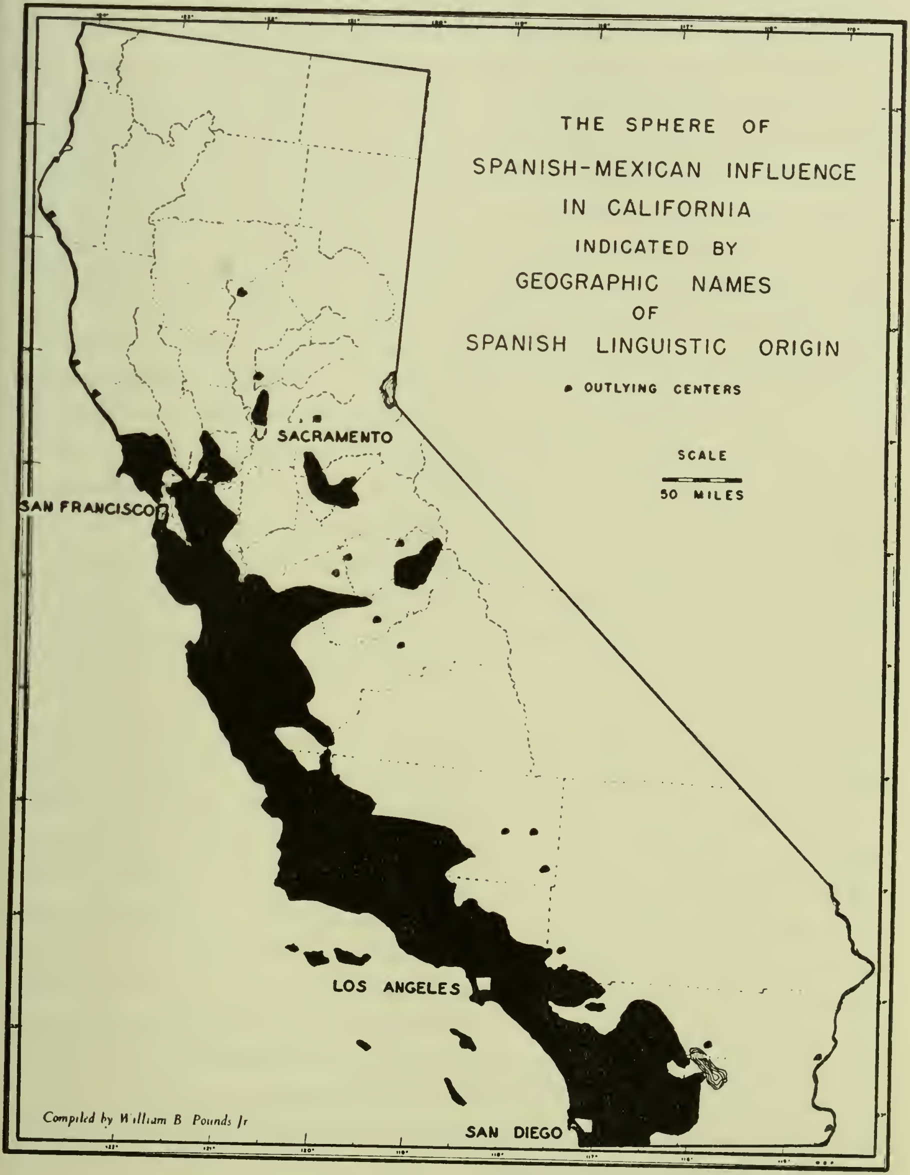
GEOGRAPHERS and historians have been greatly interested in the conditions that exist in areas of contact between two or more rival occupants. One school of modern historians has been founded upon the concept of the frontier as expressed by Frederick Jackson Turner, but the word "frontier" has been little more than a general term to describe such zones. Seldom has it been traced by the mapping of concrete data, since the very presence of border conditions implies lack of cultural stability, as well as distance from the heart of the area in which the main features of the culture evolved. The accompanying map is an attempt to reduce a single aspect of a so-called "frontier" culture to a cartographic presentation.

Late in the eighteenth century, Spain's political holdings in the New World were extended by sea and land northward from Mexico City in two principal directions: (1) by way of the Jornada del Muerto toward New Mexico and Santa Fe; and (2) northwestward by a long and arduous desert journey up the peninsula of Baja California to the outer extremities of Spain's dominions in North America—that is, Alta or Upper California. Some few explorers under Spanish authority had ventured along the coast to the latitude of Vancouver Island (between 48° and 51°) and beyond, but, except for a brief controversy over Nootka Sound, their voyages failed to establish Spanish settlements or political control far beyond the limits of San Francisco Bay. These voyagers added a number of mariners' names for coastal features to their sailing-charts, and we have inherited them as the accepted nomenclature for Cape Blanco, Cape Mendocino, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Trinidad Head, and others.[1]

The earliest Spanish names along the west coast are associated with coastal features for the most part, since the actual penetration and settlement of the land came chiefly from the direction of the sea. It has been shown by Henry R. Wagner that names applied to coastal features by the Spaniards often reflected the date on which the feature was first observed or discovered, the explorer being prone to use the name of the particular saint who was honored on that day.[2] This accounts for the large number of "San" or "Santa" prefixes that may be found on any coastal map of California. Apparently this custom was not followed in naming most of the land-bound geographic features. Names used for inland places were more often descriptive, like Cajon Pass, Salinas River, or Buena Vista Lake. When the Americans took over the region, it is interesting to find them translating the Spanish generic terms like pass, river, or lake, but retaining the specific name in its original Spanish form, as above.

Between 1830 and 1850 — the period when the Franciscan missions sions and missionaries were declining in their influence — migration into California by land assumed a magnitude equal to that by sea. Thereafter, the names on the landward margins of the former Spanish zone become more secular in character and many are descriptive; some examples include Fresno, Madera, Manteca, Corral, Alamo, Piedra, and the like. Another group of secular names includes those derived from early families of importance: Vallejo, Vaca, Amador, Camarillo, and many others. In this zone there are also many names of California Indian origin, often resembling Spanish names because they reached our maps through the Spaniards; for example, Sonoma, Tehama, Mokelumne, Tuolumne, and Cosumnes.

The occupation of California by the Spaniards represented the advance guard of Spanish influence, as it spread northward to come in contact with the southward-moving Russians, bound for the rich fur-trapping off the California coast and seeking food supplies for their fortifications on the shores of Alaska. The Russians, too, had set up advance posts on their voyages to the south, of which the most nearly permanent became the establishment at Fort Russ (Fort Ross), near the mouth of the Russian River. From Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island to Fort Ross lay a zone of contact, about 650 miles in length, between the Russian and the Spaniard. Neither power, however, was able to make good its claims to this territory, and eventually northern California, the Oregon country, and British Columbia were successfully settled and subsequently acquired by the United States and Canada.


THE SPHERE OF
SPANISH-MEXICAN INFLUENCE
IN CALIFORNIA
INDICATED BY
GEOGRAPHIC NAMES
OF
SPANISH LINGUISTIC ORIGIN
● OUTLYING CENTERS
SCALE
50 MILES
SACRAMENTO
SAN FRANCISCO
LOS ANGELES
SAN DIEGO
Compiled by William B Pounds Jr

South of Fort Ross and continuing into Lower California, the Spanish-Mexican settlers were present in sufficient numbers to account for the founding of many of the larger coastal cities and towns, and for drastic reduction in the number of Indians. If we keep in mind that one of the strongest incentives for the Spanish explorer and colonizer was the conversion of the native Indians to the Christian faith, it is immediately apparent that this objective was implemented by the establishment of a score of mission colonies tended by frontiersmen in the guise of priests. From the viewpoint of the church and the civil authorities, the land was hardly worth settlement, occupation or development if there were insufficient numbers of natives to provide the neophytes needed by the church system of the time. Furthermore, from the secular viewpoint, it was unwise and unprofitable to establish a rancho at too great a distance from a mission center, or too far from the protection afforded by the troops stationed at outposts in Monterey, San Francisco, and elsewhere. In addition, because of the extremely long and difficult journey northward by land, many supplies, altar fittings, and the simpler needs of existence had to be obtained through the ports; therefore it was unwise to settle too far in the interior. The Spaniards found, too, that some of the native tribes of the San Joaquin Valley were troublesome and were not as readily subdued by the will of the missionaries as those nearer the sea. Spanish California, as a result, remained largely expressed in terms of the coast, and extended no great depth into the interior.

Along this coast, a highway, known as El Camino Real (in reality, a wilderness trail throughout most of its length) was developed near the coast, to serve as the principal connecting route between Sonoma Mission at the northern end of the mission chain and San Diego de Alcalá, the first and southernmost of the Franciscan missions founded in Alta California. Within this coastal zone, Spanish influence was greatest and most permanent for a distance of more than 500 miles. This part of California, then, represents the principal zone of contact between the Spanish-language peoples who first colonized it, and the English-language people who presently occupy and govern it. Within it are fragments of the Indian culture and additions from other sources, including settlements and geographic names left by the French fur trappers who penetrated this region from the north.

Two recent publications have been of great assistance in making this study. *The Dictionary of California Land Names*, by Phil Townsend

Hanna (Los Angeles, 1946), contains approximately 3,600 geographical names in use within the state at the present time. Of these, 31 per cent are of Spanish linguistic origin, 56 per cent are of English origin, and 9.5 per cent of California Indian origin. The remaining names are French, Italian, German, Russian, or of other linguistic sources, while 0.6 per cent are synthetic (e.g., Anaheim, Buena Park, Earlimart), and a few are of uncertain origin. A second volume, *California Place Names: a Geographical Dictionary*, compiled by Erwin G. Gudde (Berkeley, 1949), lists some 4,200 geographical names, of which 20 per cent are of Spanish origin and 64 per cent are from English sources. Lesser elements include 9.4 per cent of Indian names; 2.7 per cent German; 1 per cent French; and lesser numbers still of Italian, Russian, and Greek names. About 0.7 per cent are synthetic, and 0.5 per cent of doubtful origin.

Whether one accepts the relatively high figure for Spanish-language names appearing in the Hanna volume or that of Gudde, it is apparent that California's present-day map bears plentiful evidence of the period of Spanish and Mexican control of Alta California; in a practical sense, here is history in a concrete form. Logically, the next inquiry must be: what is the principal area within the state where most of the Spanish place names are to be found? The answer is displayed on the accompanying map, which was compiled from a comprehensive scanning of several thousand place names on the detailed maps published by the Automobile Club of Southern California.

The map that evolved from the study shows some interesting characteristics in the distribution of Spanish names. The main geographical divisions of the state – for example, the Sierra Nevada, the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys – as well as the principal streams, bear Spanish names. Some of the rivers now appearing with English names originally bore Spanish designations, including the Río de las Plumas and the Río de los Americanos – the Feather River and the American River, respectively. Furthermore, thirty of California's fifty-eight counties bear Spanish names. In detail, however, the distribution of the bulk of the Spanish-language names lies well within the limits of the Coast Range south of the Russian River, and only in a few locations do Spanish names appear elsewhere. Relatively few of the place names within the San Joaquin Valley, and only a few in the Sierra Nevada, appear in Spanish; almost none of the Owens Valley or Mojave Desert names are Spanish. Some of the names associated with the mother lode indicate that the Mexicans shared with the Americans the hard labor that was involved in developing the natural resources of that part of the state from 1849 to 1855.[3]

Forays in search of stolen cattle, which led the Franciscan missionaries to investigate the native settlements of the central valley, seem to have failed to provide them with sufficient geographical knowledge of that region to justify assigning place names to its features. That undertaking was left for the Americans, who settled in the central valley and in the Sierra Nevada foothills in some numbers in the 1870's, when the main line of the Southern Pacific Railway was completed. Apparently the Spanish-speaking Mexicans had no great curiosity concerning the geographic nature of the Sierra Nevada or what lay eastward from it, for evidences of serious penetration of the mountains are missing from the maps.

Further and still more-detailed studies along the lines suggested in this brief paper should provide us with other aspects of human culture prevailing in the zones of contact that we call frontiers, and with a better understanding of the character and functions of the frontier as a fringe area. When the historian provides us with the knowledge that the northernmost grant of land to a Mexican by the Mexican government occurred in the Russian River valley above Healdsburg, and a survey of geographic names locates this same region as the northernmost limit of Spanish names, then we are supplied with a better knowledge and understanding of the modern map of California.

NOTES

1. Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the year 1800* (Berkeley, 1937).

2. Henry R. Wagner, "Saints' Names in California," *Quarterly*, Hist. Soc. So. Calif., XXIX (March 1947), 49-58.

3. H. F. Raup, "Place Names of the California Gold Rush," *Geogr. Rev.*, XXXV (1945), 653-58.

The Question of Religion and the Taming of California, 1849-1854

By WILLIAM HANCHETT

"THE THEOLOGIAN," wrote Edward Gibbon, in a chapter on the Christian religion in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, "may indulge the pleasing task of describing Religion as she descended from Heaven. . . . A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian." For the historian writes of religion not as it descends from heaven but as it operates on society, not as a divine revelation but as a social force.

There have been historians of the United States who have concluded that religion was the force that tamed the frontier, and this interpretation is, understandably, the one most favored by the churches. But it would seem that whenever, in a frontier society, religion was able to attract individuals numerous enough to exert a social influence, then the community-taming process was already underway. The churches in California were, first, symptoms of the advance of social stability; only secondly were they are causes of it. The important thing is that they were both symptoms *and* causes.

I. THE PARISHES

When the steamer carrying Samuel Hopkins Willey, missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, stopped at Monterey in February 1849, on its way northward from Panama, Willey decided to go no further; other missionaries were bound for San Francisco, and there seemed to be an opportunity for a Protestant in the old Spanish capital of California. As for going on into the gold mines, "Who can reconcile gold-digging with the proper objects of the Christian ministry?" asked Willey. "How shall we live? What shall we do?"[1] Of what value would it be to preach the gospel to men who were seeking not truth but gold? In attempting to minister to Argonauts, the missionary ". . . must himself dig, or starve. . . ."[2]

Looking towards the placers, Protestant and Catholic missionaries alike were appalled by what seemed a nightmare of drunkenness, gambling, materialism, and disdain for religious principles. "The Americans," wrote a Picpus father, "think only of dollars, talk only of dollars, seek nothing but dollars; they are the men of dollars."[3] But religion in the gold fields, as it turned out, was not so anomalous as it seemed. In all of the major towns and many of the minor ones, congregations were organized and churches built, even though they were small congregations and, for the most part, modest churches. For all its iniquity in the eyes of the missionaries, gold-rush society contained men and women, as Willey himself quickly discovered, who were ". . . ready to enter heartily into the work of establishing the institutions of the Gospel."[4]

The churches in the tier of eight counties from Mariposa north to Sierra were not evenly distributed geographically, although there was at least one church in each important mining town; nor were they distributed equally among the various denominations. The principal areas of church concentration were in Tuolumne and Nevada counties, in each of which two large cities were located only a few miles apart. Next in importance came El Dorado County, containing the greatest population of all the eight counties and one of the largest cities in the state, Placerville. In Mariposa, Calaveras, modern Amador, Placer, and Sierra counties there were no cities as large and important as those in the other three, but in each of them there was at least one town where churches were established.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CHURCHES

The early churches in the mother-lode country may be classified as either primary or secondary. A primary church was located in a major town, practically always occupied a church building recognizable as such, and had the services of a full-time resident clergyman, usually a commissioned missionary. Normally, secondary churches were located in towns too small — or too wild — to justify a full-time minister or priest. Their house of worship was likely to be a schoolroom, a city hall, or a private home, although occasionally a recognizable church building was erected. The essential distinction between primary and secondary churches was that the latter did not possess the full-time services of a resident clergyman. A secondary church was either a regular preaching appointment on a denominational circuit, or a kind of public chapel, preached in, now and then, by various mining ministers or traveling missionaries. If the latter, it might disappear with a shift in population, or become so strong as to attract a full-time clergyman, and thus become a primary church. The missionaries assigned to the mother-lode country, especially the Catholics, traveled over wide areas and held services in a great multitude of camps and towns as they went. Such itinerant stopping-places cannot be considered secondary churches unless the missionary returned for religious services at regular intervals.

Because they were so often of short life and casual formation, it is impossible to tabulate the number of secondary churches on the California mining-circuits. It is perhaps reasonable to estimate, however, that there were a total of around forty or fifty which were organized in accordance with sectarian procedures and which met with such regularity, at least for a few weeks or months, that they may be considered genuine churches of secondary importance. The following tabulation of primary churches in the mother-lode country, 1849-1854, will give a misleading impression, unless, around each church, a small but varying number of secondary churches is visualized:[5]

Methodist	*S. Methodist*	*Catholic*	*Congregational, Presbyterian*
Mariposa	Mariposa	Sonora-Columbia	Sonora-Columbia
Sonora-Columbia	Sonora-Columbia	San Andreas	Placerville
Volcano-Calaveras	Angels Camp-Murphys	Nevada City	Grass Valley
Mokelumne Hill			Nevada City
Auburn	Auburn		
Placerville	Grass Valley		
Grass Valley	Nevada City		
Nevada City			
Downieville			

No other primary churches were organized before 1855, although there were Baptist, Episcopalian, Mormon, and other clergymen in the mines.

Although both Catholics and Protestants spoke of their circuits, the missionaries should not be thought of as circuit-riders in the tradition of Peter Cartwright and others in the Ohio valley earlier in the century. The mother-lode country was not an agricultural frontier, but a mining frontier; its people were not isolated in family groups over large areas, but they were relatively concentrated at certain points. The missionaries did not go out to the people in the hills, as much as they sought to induce the people in the towns to come to churches built especially for the purpose. They did not act, like the old circuit-riders, as a connecting link between civilization and the frontier, but as a force for civilization in a contest between order and disorder. The gold-rush missionary who lived with his wife in a parsonage, no matter how crude, who preached in his own church, no matter how unpretentious, and who walked of a Sunday afternoon or evening to a secondary church in a nearby camp, no matter how wild, had less in common with the bachelor circuit-rider of the Ohio valley than with the pastor of a moderately prosperous church in New England.

THE CHURCH BUILDINGS

Architecturally, the primary-church buildings in the major mining towns fall into three general classes, corresponding approximately to the time in which they were built. The first buildings, roughly those built before 1852, were apt to be temporary shelters against the weather. Quickly and inexpensively erected out of adobe,[6] logs,[7] clapboard,[8] or canvas stretched across a wooden frame,[9] many of them were extremely flimsy structures which lasted only a short time. When Isaac B. Fish arrived at Mokelumne Hill in November 1851, to organize a Methodist society, he found that although there was no formal religious group in town, ". . . the friends of moral improvement . . ." had anticipated a missionary and erected a partly-enclosed church, twenty feet by forty.[10] Fish spent his first few days improving the building, soliciting funds, and becoming acquainted. Two weeks after he had held his first quarterly meeting, and just one month after his arrival, the church was blown over by a storm and completely wrecked.[11] It is illustrative, both of the construction of the first churches and of the determination of some miners that there be churches, that the congregation set aside the following Tuesday for rebuilding.[12] A week later the new church, better ". . . by far" than the old, was completed and free of debt.[13] A simple canvas building, it stood up against the winds of the next two years, when the trustees purchased a more substantial house for use as a church.[14]

Generally, the churches built between 1852 and 1854 were semi-permanent buildings, larger and more sturdy than those built earlier, and costing between $2000 and $7000. Mostly wooden and unadorned, except perhaps by a cupola, they paralleled the evolution of the camps themselves from boom towns of tents and shacks to relatively stable, but highly inflammable, communities. The Methodist church in Grass Valley, remembered J. B. Hill, who built it early in 1854 to replace the house which had been used for services since 1852, was

> . . . made of broad boards, upright, and battened. But the boards were considerably warped and joints [were] uncovered. The floor was also of broad boards. Dimensions were 20 x 50 feet, with 12 feet [*sic*] ceiling. Rear end level with, or in

> the [sloping] ground. Front end toward 5 feet above the ground. Porch platform and steps [were the] width of church, [and made] of boards, broad and considerably warped. One aisle in center, from front doors back to pulpit. Choir seats on the right on entrance. Walls lined and papered. No paint or whitewash, as I recollect, on the outside.[15]

Unpretentious, even crude, but unmistakably a church, this type of building can perhaps be considered typical of the primary churches in the mother-lode country before 1855.

The third class of church buildings postdates this study. But such fine examples as the Catholic churches, still standing in Columbia and Murphys, and the Episcopalian in Sonora, symbolize the presumption of both mining towns and churches to permanence and refinement. Even before 1855, however, a few elaborate and substantial church buildings were being built or planned. In 1853 the Catholics in Sonora built what a Presbyterian minister, Silas S. Harmon, described as ". . . a very large and elegant building, 'cathedral,' as they call it."[16] This cathedral, however, was surpassed in elegance by the one which Harmon himself was planning.

A missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, Harmon had arrived in Sonora with his family in March 1853. For the first month, he was allowed to preach in the Methodist and Southern-Methodist churches on alternate Sundays. He then secured, free of charge, a small upstairs room used ". . . for lodgers and cotillion parties,"[17] and in May organized a Presbyterian church.[18] When his congregation increased, Harmon began to hold services in a room in the courthouse, but by early 1854 this room had become too small. Not only was it full, ". . . but scores have stood at the door and windows, and on the sidewalk in front. . . ."[19] Accordingly, the church moved to a room seating 250 in the new courthouse.[20]

The erection of a Presbyterian church building had been delayed by a series of fires, which had ravaged one section of Sonora after another and had caused heavy losses to the whole community.[21] By the fall of 1854, however, a church was nearing completion and was already the object of much admiration. When it is done, wrote Harmon, ". . . it will be the most elegant building in Sonora."[22] Finally, ready for use in January 1855, the new brick church was fifty-five by thirty-four feet and had an interior plastered and trimmed with well-finished woodwork.[23] A more ". . . imposing and substantial building is not to be met with in the country," exclaimed the editor of a local newspaper.[24] It had cost $8000, every dollar of which was collected by Harmon himself.[25]

Money for the erection of church buildings was raised by collection at religious services, by fairs and festivals conducted by women, and by subscriptions. Since there were rarely empty buildings available for use as churches, one of the first things newly-arrived ministers had to do was go about the town seeking money or pledges for their building funds.[26] Soliciting funds for churches was hard work, declared J. H. Warren, pastor of the Congregational church in Nevada City, just as hard "... as 'coyoting,' 'sluicing,' 'tunneling,' or any other way of getting gold."[27] It was difficult to raise money from Argonauts who did not belong to a local congregation, because even those who were church members at home had little interest in building churches for California. Their allegiance was elsewhere, and most of them wished to leave the mines as soon as possible — with as much money as possible.

Yet Warren received contributions from 334 American citizens, representing all but two of the United States in 1852, and from Mexicans, Canadians, and Europeans, as well.[28] All but $1500 of the $5600-church had been contributed within a short time after its dedication in September 1851.[29]

CHURCH BELLS AND PARSONAGES

In addition to collecting funds for church buildings, ministers liked to invest in bells. The tolling of a church bell on Sunday mornings, they believed, could ". . . speak to the conscience" of a greater number of miners than they themselves could contact, and by recalling memories of more tranquil Sunday mornings at home, induce men to patronize the church instead of the saloon.[30]

It was a valid theory, as James Pierpont discovered. In his Placerville Presbyterian church, Pierpont's congregations were small, somewhere between fifteen and thirty-five in a town of 4000. He wrote his sermons carefully, visited the sick, buried the dead, but, no matter how hard he tried, he seemed to make little impression on the townspeople. Just as he was about to give up the job as a failure, someone suggested that he purchase a church bell. Mrs. Pierpont herself solicited the money on the streets, having a variety of unpleasant experiences with people reluctant to contribute, and more than once returning home in tears. Finally the money was raised and the bell hung. The effect was miraculous. The congregation jumped to an average of fifty, and the church, re-decorated inside and out by the people, seemed suddenly to come to life.[31]

Living accommodations for missionaries, just entering the mines, were often as crude as the first churches. When the Methodist minister,

A. S. Gibbons, and his wife, baggage in hand, arrived at Columbia in 1853 after walking from Sonora, they found that their parsonage was a board shed, twelve by fifteen feet, lined with cloth, and without furniture. Gibbons placed pine shavings on the floor and covered them with a blanket for a bed.[32] The Rev. David Deal and his wife lived in a tent in Sonora until they could build a place to live.[33] The snowy night he arrived in Nevada City in 1852, John C. Simmons stayed with the Southern-Methodist missionary in that city, J. F. Blythe. Blythe's bachelor parsonage was a clapboard shed at one end of his clapboard church. The floor was of rough boards and the walls were unlined. Mattresses and pillows on the bunk beds were stuffed with "Irish feathers," mowed from a field. There was a stove, a bookcase, a table, and a few stools.[34] As he lay on his uncomfortable bunk, Simmons recalled a talk given to a group of missionaries by Bishop Andrews. "If you cannot sleep on bearskins," the bishop had said, ". . . you are not fit for missionaries."[35]

(To be concluded)

NOTES

1. Samuel Hopkins Willey, "Diary and Commonplace Book" (manuscript, Archives, Univ. Calif.), pp. 93-94.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 96. A similar apprehension is expressed in *Spirit of Missions*, XIV (Feb. 1849), 45

3. Joseph Venisse, *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, XXIV (1852), 404 (my translation).

4. Samuel Hopkins Willey, *Decade Sermons: Two Historical Discourses Occasioned by the Close of the First Ten Years' Ministry in California . . .* (San Francisco, 1859), p. 20.

5. In the case of the Sonora-Columbia area, each of the four denominations maintained a primary church at Sonora. Columbia was so populous and easily accessible, however, that each denomination gave it almost equal attention with Sonora, even when a full-time resident clergyman could not be supplied. Similarly, Volcano was an important station on the Methodist Calaveras circuit, which was served out of Stockton. The Southern Methodists divided their time in Calaveras County between Angels Camp and Murphys.

6. *E.g.*, the first Catholic church in Sonora. Henry L. Walsh, *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails* (Univ. Santa Clara Press, 1946), pp. 57, 59.

7. *E.g.*, the secondary church building in Shaws Flat. *See* the *Pacific*, April 2, 1852.

8. *E.g.*, the Southern-Methodist church, Nevada City. J. C. Simmons, *Thirtieth Anniversary of a California Pastor* (San Francisco, 1882), p. 11.

9. *E.g.*, the Methodist church in Placerville before 1851. Madison B. Moorman, *Journal, 1850-1851*, ed. by Irene D. Paden (San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc., 1948),

pp. 81-82. The first Catholic church in San Andreas was a canvas tent surmounted by a cross. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Oakland; Biobooks, 1948), pp. 257-58.

10. Isaac B. Fish, "Journal," Nov. 20, 1851 (manuscript, Archives, Hist. Soc. Calif.-Nev. An. Conf. Methodist Church, Berkeley), I, 116-17.

11. *Ibid.*, Nov. 23-30, Dec. 27, 1851, pp. 118-19, 127.

12. *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1851, p. 127.

13. *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1852, p. 128.

14. *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1854, II, 52.

15. J. B. Hill to C. V. Anthony, Feb. 25, 1886 (manuscript, "C. V. Anthony Papers," Archives, Hist. Soc. Calif.-Nev. An. Conf. Methodist Church, Berkeley; hereafter cited as Anthony Papers).

16. Silas S. Harmon, in *Home Missionary*, XXVI (Nov. 1853), 163.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62.

18. Twenty-eighth An. Rept., Am. Mis. Soc. [later, Congregational Home Mis. Soc.] (New York, 1854), p. 89.

19. Harmon, *op. cit.*, Jan. 1854, p. 216.

20. *Ibid.*, April 1854, p. 282.

21. *Ibid.*, Jan. 1854, p. 216.

22. *Ibid.*, XXVII (Nov. 1854), 168.

23. S. S. Harmon to Am. Home Mis. Soc., Oct. 1, 1853, microfilm copy of manuscript in Am. Home Mis. Soc. Collection, Chicago Theol. Sem. (hereafter cited as AHMS Papers); the *Pacific*, Jan. 5, 1855.

24. Sonora *Union Democrat*, Sept. 9, 1854.

25. S. S. Harmon, in *Home Missionary*, XXVII (Nov. 1854), 168.

26. *Home Missionary*, XXVI (Feb. 1854), 235; Willey, *Decade Sermons . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.

27. J. H. Warren, in *Home Missionary*, XXIV (April 1852), 277.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 278. Churches were commonly out of debt, or close to it, by the time of their dedication ceremonies, although there were a few instances when a church failed, or was destroyed by fire, before its debt was retired. In some such cases the minister was liable for the loss. *See, e.g.*, William Taylor, *California Life Illustrated* (New York, 1858), pp. 334-35.

30. James Pierpont, in *Home Missionary*, XXVI (Nov. 1853), 160. *See also* Warren, *ibid.*, XXIV (April 1852), 237; and the *Pacific*, Jan. 1, 1853.

31. James Pierpont to Am. Home Mis. Soc., Oct. 13, 1854, AHMS Papers.

32. A. S. Gibbons to C. V. Anthony, Nov. 28, 1898, Anthony Papers.

33. Isaac Owen to J. P. Durbin, June 28, 1852 (manuscript, Owen Papers, Bancroft Library).

34. Simmons, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The Old Occidental

By Stephen P. Jocelyn

FOREWORD – As Chairman of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the California Historical Society, I was very much pleased when the account of the old Occidental Hotel was brought to my notice. The Occidental was a feature of my younger life. My family, which then lived in Oakland, spent two winters at the Occidental about 1900 to 1902. I personally had an inside room fronting on the court which, as I recall it, cost only $50 a month American Plan.

The table in the dining-room was excellent, and I remember with pleasure the courtesy and good service which we received from our waiter, "Victor." I also remember the fact that at intervals the bill-of-fare would offer "Roast Fresno Turkey a la Farci." This interested me very much because, at the time, I was engaged to a young lady from Fresno, who later became my wife and, thank God, still is. Above the ceiling in my bedroom was what I always thought must be a rat race-course. You would hear the running feet of the rats at some distance, getting louder as they approached. Immediately over my bed was a sort of hurdle, which they had to jump, coming down with a thud on the other side. The hotel at that time was filled with very agreeable people, mostly permanent guests like ourselves, and many of them were acquainted with each other. The delightfully friendly atmosphere of the guests and staff was different from that in any other hotel in which I have ever stayed. I have always thought that it stemmed from the proprietor, Major William B. Hooper.

Allen L. Chickering

During the Spanish-American War and even many years before that, the old square Occidental Hotel on the corner of Montgomery and Sutter streets in San Francisco was, among other things, a veritable army institution.

Contrary to the habits of the average American citizen, army officers in those days were continually crossing the continent and, to a lesser degree, were traveling up and down the Pacific coast. When there was room, almost all of them stopped at the Occidental; not because there were no better hotels, but because it was an army tradition and officers were also accorded special rates.

No officer ever thought of taking the trouble to look through the hotel register to see whether Major Cornman, Lieutenant Van Deman or Captain Truitt were in the west, or had passed through recently. He simply walked up the wide, red-carpeted stairs which encased the open elevator shaft, went to the door of the large dining-room, found Fay, the gray-haired headwaiter—always immaculately attired in a dress-suit of the very latest conservative fashion—pumped his hand, and was informed immediately concerning the last visit to the Occidental of any officer of the regular army. Fay knew them all, knew whence they had come and whither they were bound. If Fay was not stationed at the dining-room door, just opposite the tooth-pick stand—which in turn was next the newsstand—it was because he was conducting a party to a table and would be back soon.

In 1899, when I was seven years old, was the first time that I rubbed noses with the Occidental. This is the exact truth—the "vérité vraie," as the French say laughingly. I rubbed my nose on the most perfect banisters to slide down I have ever encountered before or since. They fitted my crotch when I was but seven and only had nerve enough to slide one flight ignominiously on my belly; and they fitted my crotch in later years when I had not only learned to face forward, using no hands, but could take the entire five floors at one fell swoop. One of the qualities of those banisters was that there was but a small nubbin as a terminal point on the newel post; and experience taught us, just before reaching the nubbin, to spread our legs slightly, leaning backward the while, and a safe landing on the soft red carpet of the first floor, with all appurtenances intact, was assured. I say experience taught "us" because, as may be imagined, I was not the only officer's son to make everybody's life miserable in the old Occidental. Indeed we were legion. The banisters I mention were in the front southwest corner of the hotel. The stairs were seldom used, and, although there was an old watchman, he could not be everywhere at once. I often dream of those dark-brown banisters with a slight hump in the middle, and I bless the artisan who made them.

The Occidental boasted four other stairways, but only three of them held our interest. One was a spiral affair, very steep, with inordinately high steps, and built around a central painted iron pipe. It penetrated also the entire high-ceilinged five floors. The charm of this whirligig was to start at the top, run down as fast as one could, stand still at the bottom with eyes closed and try not to fall down. Needless to add, we all fell down. There were four wings to the hotel, all built around a central court which was divided in two by superposed hallways, connecting the centers of the front and rear wings. This spiral stairway was near the middle of the right, or north, wing.

The east or rear wing of the hotel housed, in its upper stories, small, brightly painted servants' quarters and rooms for domestics of the hotel guests; nursemaids, coachmen, etc. This was supposedly forbidden ground, but, as I have said, the watchman could not be everywhere. In these quarters and on the third floor was a small door which we found opened onto a narrow stairway no more than two feet wide. Exploration disclosed that this boxed-in descending passage zigzagged down to the kitchen. The kitchen was also forbidden ground if we tried to attack it by either the dining-room or the service entrance, but, for some reason, when a few of us looked sheepishly, if smilingly, into the kitchen from this little stairway, we encountered no open opposition. I suppose the various kitchen employees were amused that we had discovered the hidden stairs, as they knew that only the most faithful of Occidental child-habitués could have done so. We were not exactly welcomed when entering this sanctum sanctorum in such a manner, but we were at least tolerated for a short time. Indeed we rarely retreated to upper levels without being rewarded with a piece of candy, a cookie, a doughnut or an apple.

I have already mentioned the fourth stairway of interest: the one encasing the hydraulic elevator. Hydraulic elevators move slowly; at least they did in those days. When we had rooms on the top floor — for some reason the top floor only boasted narrow brown runners on the floor of its corridors, in contrast to the red carpets everywhere else — and when one of my fond parents entered the elevator on the street floor, I took great pride in beating the elevator to the top by running up the stairs, politely sticking out my tongue at the occupants on the way. (It is extraordinary how well some people bring up their children.)

I do not know whether the Otis Company made the elevator or not, but in any case it was a dream of beauty and a joy forever. It had two stories, the upper being of intricately carved, dark hardwood, and, as it was a long journey to the top floor, a comfortable seat ran around the three walls. The passenger compartment surmounted the less esthetic, but equally voluminous, freight compartment. This mighty totality was controlled by two ropes running through the floor and ceiling. It required considerable pulling or tugging on the ropes in order to get under way or to come to a stop. The contrivance could accommodate about fifteen passengers, plus freight, and the round trip required ten minutes. But the chief charm was found in two immense mirrors, which formed two of the opposite sides of the elevator above the backs of the seats. You could look in one and see your face *and* the back of your head, alternately repeated and dwindling off in a slight curve ad infinitum. It always reminded me of the "Royal" baking-powder can, which in turn displayed a picture of a "Royal" baking powder can, which also displayed a picture of a "Royal" baking-powder can, etc. I have never yet found a magnifying glass strong enough to disclose the fifth "Royal" baking-powder can, whereas the mirrors of the Occidental elevator were much more satisfactory.

There was no elevator boy, but there was an elevator *man*. No boy could have been entrusted with such a dangerous and complicated gimmick. It was no small feat to stop the elevator on the level with the aimed-at floor, and one could sense the inward satisfaction of the "man" when this occasionally took place by accident. But to stop the freight compartment somewhere near the floor, so that the heavy rawhide trunks and other baggage could be placed therein or discharged therefrom, was a veritable tour de force. Never did the Occidental elevator rest idle. One always had to ring and wait for it.

Aside from the service entrances, there were two main entrances to the hotel; the lobby entrance and the ladies' entrance. The lobby itself was quite large, with the usual glass front; innumerable arm-chairs lined the walls on either side of the entrance, each equipped with its ample cuspidor. After breakfast these chairs, as well as most of the anatomy of their occupants, were hidden by two, solid, facing-rows of open newspapers above which rolled forth two dense banks of cigar smoke. This was the time of day par excellence for collecting cigar bands. One could find a great many unbroken specimens – the only ones that had any "value" – on the black-and-white checkered marble floor. But we also had our regular furnishers who, for some unreasonable reason, taking a liking to one or another of us, would beckon to us while carefully slipping the bands from their cigars. These bands were of course meticulously pasted in albums and duplicates swapped. Once I rated a real prize when some officer, sailing for the Philippines, had a box of cigars the size of a small valise to last him the month's trip. Around this box was an enormous, enlarged, red-blue-and-gold cigar band which I inherited intact.

In the right rear of the lobby was the aforementioned elevator shaft.

In the left rear was the long mahogany receiving-desk, and in between was the ever-open entrance — with swinging doors — to the combined billiard-room and bar. Children were never allowed beyond that imaginary barrier. This was altogether fitting and proper.

The ladies' entrance was to the right of the lobby as you faced the hotel. Coming from Market Street, that was the first entrance to be encountered. When my mother, sisters and I returned from an afternoon at the Sutro Baths, the Cliff House, the Chutes, the Zoo or Golden Gate Park, it was very distasteful, nay humiliating, for me to be herded into the ladies' entrance along with girls, and I at length obtained permission to push on to the main entrance and come forth into the lobby like a man. The ladies' entrance was carpeted red, had a doorman, and was naturally devoid of cuspidors. There was a table for calling cards on the right, over which was an ornate mirror for primping.

The second floor was the center of social life. There, with plush seats along one wall, was the big hall in front of the corridor leading to the dining-room; and there also was the débouché of the grand open stairway — the only stairway offering no acrobatic possibilities for us children, being too centrally located and all sliding projects being ruined, anyway, by an imposing statuette of an ethereal maiden surmounting the newel post.

The parlor was of large proportions with a very high ceiling. This ceiling, however, was often decorated with gas-inflated toy balloons which children were eternally forgetting to hang on to. They offered good targets for improvised sling-shots before they shrivelled pitifully in their old age and descended to the floor.

Unfortunately for guests who had rooms nearby, there was a grand piano in the parlor. I believe it was little Mary McAndrew who, in an evil moment, taught me to play "Hiawatha" with both hands. The less said about the left hand the better, although the loud pedal drowned out some of the errors. In retrospection I now feel reasonably sure that many a male Occidentaler, due to Mary and me, must have been driven to the lower regions where, at the bar, their "laughing waters" were undoubtedly used only as chasers for various forms of aguardiente.

In the center of the ceiling of the second floor was a round light-well, about twelve feet in diameter. This was repeated in the ceilings of all the floors up to the roof, where a conical skylight surmounted the whole. This was of course cherry-pie for us children. Not only were spools of thread requisitioned in order to float balloons through the four floors to the skylight, but the top railing offered an ideal vantage-ground for the classic wet sponge performance, which we felt had to be enacted at least once a week. Our predilection was of course for the bald watchman, but, as this was before the days of the Sperry bomb-sight, I never remember seeing a direct hit. Nor do I know what became of all those sponges; certainly many an officer with children must have silently accused the Occidental chambermaids of an unexplainable fondness for them.

I have a guilty conscience concerning the watchman, because he innocently took a liking to me and once induced my mother to let me spend a night and Sunday at his home across the bay in Oakland, to play with his son who was my age. The yellow frame house, the dog, the chicken yard and the mountainous Sunday dinner will never be forgotten.

The Occidental was infested with the largest rats I have ever seen. Their size may probably be attributed to cross-breeding between the native rats and those that came down the gang-planks and hawsers of ships from the Orient. Their homes were apparently in the wooden box-like affairs which covered a maze of lead pipes in the numerous lavatories. They thrived on the good Occidental food. They were quite tame and would come very near you in the corridors for bits of bread.

But to get back to Fay: the huge dining-room was a source of great delight to both old and young. The hotel was run on the "American plan" and generally served table d'hôte meals, although a wide choice was accorded for the pantagruelian breakfasts. The dinners were many-coursed and always included a sherbet or water-ice with the plat de résistance. On Sundays there were assorted bon-bons after the dessert, and we children soon learned the wisdom of stalling for a late dinner on Sundays, because our friend Carl, the dinner-coated captain of the waiters, would bring us the bon-bons from the tables of those departed guests who had not cared for any — mostly hard-drinking business men.

Carl was a tall, raw-boned Norwegian who had not been long in America. He lodged in a small attic room, with a high little dormer-window, in a lodging-house on Post Street. On his desk he had a multitude of books, both in his native tongue and in English. The afternoon he took me to see his room, he pulled a sea locker from under his bed, opened a small chest enclosed therein, and presented me with a gold pin enclosed in a glass vial an inch-and-a-half long. On the end of the pin was a flat head, an eighth-of-an-inch in diameter. On that head was engraved the Lord's prayer in toto, every letter of which could be distinguished with a very strong magnifying glass.

I have never seen waiters more dextrous in carrying heavily-loaded trays than those of the old Occidental. On their heads they placed a red plush, doughnut-shaped affair, about six inches in diameter and an inch-and-a-half thick to support one tray, and they thought nothing of sailing down the corridors, the rats scattering before them, with one tray on the head and two other trays, each balanced in perfect poise on the up-turned palms of both hands held at shoulder height. The total weight must often have exceeded one hundred pounds.

Having been brought up in army garrisons, I missed the raising and the lowering of the flag at sunrise and sunset — or thereabouts — at the Occidental, but as one or two of the outside rooms boasted narrow balconies and as our living-room had one, I contrived to place a seven-foot pole upright on ours, complete with miniature halyards. My mother, in the hope that this would get me out of bed in the morning, brought me three small flags of different sizes. These became my post, garrison and storm flags. The post flag was the medium-sized everyday flag. The larger, yellow-fringed flag appropriately became the garrison flag and was flown on holidays. The tiny storm flag was flown when it rained. For field music I had to content myself with whistling Retreat and Reveille, yelling "B-O-O-M" for the evening gun and humming the national anthem.

But the enthusiasm for early rising soon wore off, whereupon my ingenious mother suggested I play fireman in the morning as well as soldier. This artifice was quite successful. San Francisco was always having fires, and for me to watch the firemen slide down the poles from the above unknowns was breath taking. So, my mother, capitalizing on my admiration for the agile firemen, bought me an alarm clock to take the place of the fire bell, and, before going to bed, I pinned my black stockings to my drawers and slept in my undershirt so that I could dress instanter. My shoes were loosely laced up to their tops and the empty stocking feet placed in each. When the alarm rang in the morning, things really began to happen and within a few seconds, dressed, but unwashed, I was out on the balcony whistling Reveille and hoisting the colors, much to the astonishment of pedestrians on Sutter Street below.

Speaking of fires, the Occidental boasted no central heating, but nearly every room had an open-grate fire in which huge six-to-ten inch chunks of soft coal were burned. There must have been a hundred or more separate chimneys, and, as it is not always possible to sweep chimneys clean, it is almost miraculous that the hotel did not burn down prior to the great fire of 1906.

It was on April eighteenth that the earthquake occurred which occasioned the horrible San Francisco holocaust. The flames soon reached the Occidental and devoured it with glee. Martial law was immediately proclaimed, the first soldiers to arrive coming from the nearby Presidio. It could only have been with a strange mixture of emotions that the numerous officers on duty in that densely populated section, powerless to stem the advancing destruction, watched their rendezvous of varied memories vanish in billowy and suffocating smoke.

Diary of Emma C. Derby

Bancroft's Niece Keeps Record of European Tour,
March 25–August 6, 1867

(Concluded)

"Sabbath, June 23d. Uncle H. asked me if I would be disappointed should we not go to Geneva. I told him Yes – a little, but not to go on my account at all since they had both been there. It seems he is perfectly tired of traveling and Aunt E. is sick and cannot enjoy Switzerland. So tomorrow we go on to Baden-Baden, stopping over night at Basle. And from there to Strasbourg and Paris. We found an english church, and listened to a very good sermon (only it takes them so long to get to their sermon). I being weary, read their hymn-book half through. Uncle H. fairly seated himself in the church when he went out again. The afternoon I slept through. And after dinner we had another walk under the arches in a driving rain storm. Uncle H. remarked that the arches were very providential to them, since their umbrella had fallen out of the car window. He went on to see the 'bears den' – they always keep bears here in Bern – while we waited for him under the arches, becoming acquainted with all the babies who passed. . . .

"Monday, June 24. In one more month I shall be twenty years old! Uncle H. and I took breakfast alone, after which I went out alone to price some articles for my Aunt. The little bear chessmen are fifty francs a set, and the small music boxes from ten to thirty francs. I also bought a swiss cottage – paying three times as much as they can be bought for at Interlaken, also a little book-marker. There is a piano down stairs. I am going to try some of my new music on it. . . .

"I enjoyed my practicing . . . only the waiters seemed to be possessed to stick their heads in the room every few moments – And gentlemen would come in to get a paper. We were about three hours on our way to Basle. . . . In the Cathedral are the remains of a fresco called 'the Dance of Death.'* I remember that a school friend of mine wrote a prize composition on this subject. We did not see the fresco, but we saw the outside of the old Cathedral (built originally in 1010-19), for it was closed. . . .

---

*She avoids the error of attributing it to Holbein, who lived in Basle, 1528-31.

"Tuesday, 25th June. We started for Baden Baden early. . . ." Hills and Black Forest; ride very pleasant. They arrived at Baden Baden about noon (Hotel d'Angleterre), and started off, after lunching at a pastry-shop, to see the place. "Then mine Uncle went to take a mineral bath while Aunt E. and I looked into all the shops we came across. . . . We soon after met Uncle H. and all proceeded to the 'Conversation' [gaming-hall; palatial; roulette more popular than rouge-et-noir] boys as well as men, old ladies as well as young, stand around this table and play. We watched them for a long time and I think it a dreadful place. . . . We went again in the evening. . . . They [the gamblers] try hard to conceal their interest, and while the wheel is turning laugh and talk with friends, all the while looking very pale. . . . Aunt E. says she is disappointed in the place [Baden Baden] as being the greatest watering place in Germany—in Europe I believe. Our hotel is not *grand* at all, though the Emperor of Russia stopped here with his suite a few days ago, on his way from Paris to Potsdam.

"Wednesday, June 26, 1867. We arose early and went to the 'Trink-Halle' where every one goes to drink of the mineral water, from 6 to 8 A.M. The frescoes on the outside, in the portico, are representations of scenes in the Black Forest. The fountain is in the centre of the hall, and a girl fills the tumblers. The water is warm, but has no particular taste, still there seems to be nourishment in it.

"We visited the 'gambling shop' once more, after returning home for our breakfast. Then took a drive [ancient castle on top of hill; view of Black Forest; and also drove through it]. The trees are fir mostly, or spruce, and the trunks are mostly black for some reason—hence the name."*

They took the railroad to Strasbourg, reaching there at five o'clock. She thought that the Rhine looked "about as it did at Basle. . . . I think I prefer, on the whole, the Hudson to the Rhine.

"There were only three at dinner besides us—it seemed very few after the full tables we were used to. After dinner, we took our walk to see Strasbourg [the cathedral, the astronomical clock, house of the de-

---

**Abies pectinata*, or silver fir; bark gray but becomes rough with age; forest appears dark in contrast to the clear green leaves, fringed with silky hairs, of the beech at lower elevations.

signer, Conrad Dasypodius]. We tried their Strasbourg beer, after this. It is more bitter than the Bavarian, but very good, I think. And the quantities of storks-nests that we saw on the highest chimneys! . . . Another peculiarity of the place is the cultivation of geese livers. Pâté de foie gras. They sometimes weigh from 1 to 2 pounds a piece. We had some for dinner. . . .

"Thursday, June 27, '67. We were intending to start for Paris at ten A.M. today. But 'man proposes, God disposes.' My Aunt is sick and Uncle H. thinks she might as well get well here as in Paris.

"We two had a walk about town. Visited the canals, bought stereoscopic views of storks in their nests with the cathedral in the background, saw the great clock strike eleven, took bread and beer at the brewery for lunch, and, last, purchased another cuckoo, and a small alarm clock – both for $10 or less! . . . slept two or three hours. By that time my Aunt felt better. I hope she will be well tomorrow.

"Since then I have been sketching . . . writing in my journal, and eating a beef steak dinner. We both preferred it to a table d'hôte. And now it is bed-time. I wonder if we shall go to Paris tomorrow and reach there safely.*

"Paris, Friday, 28th June 1867. . . . [They left Strasbourg at 10 A.M.; dusty, but otherwise a comfortable ride. Had to have their baggage examined at the border.] The way they did it was to open Uncle Hubert's trunk, look in, and shut it up again, whereas mine was not touched at all." Arrived at Paris, she calls it a "brilliantly lighted city." Some of the cafés "were so bright that they exceeded the sun for light." They went first to Hotel Mirabeau, "where so many crowned heads stop. They showed us into two little garret rooms – they were the only ones they had, and those for twenty francs a day, for *only* the rooms, nothing to eat at all. We left our baggage there, while we came up the Rue de la Paix a little further to Hotel de Hollande. . . . We found rooms on the first story for twelve francs. . . . There is no table d'hôte . . . It is very quiet and homelike, as our rooms look out not on the street, but the court. . . . We went to bed, quite glad to get a bed to sleep in, as Uncle H. said.

---

*Bancroft wrote in his "Diary" (manuscript, Bancroft Library): ". . . But one stretch more and our German trip is ended. We go from here to Paris, and then soon to London.

"We have seen much, there is much more we have not seen, but still enough to furnish food for thought for some time to come."

"Paris, June 29th, '67. We patronized Bon Marché today, my Aunt and I, while Uncle H. went off on his own responsibility. . . . [They took lunch at a patisserie across the street and came back to the hotel.] We did not find my Uncle, but we found a package of letters which he had brought. . . . Aunt E. was lonely and troubled today because Uncle H. did not come sooner. We had a roast beef dinner, and then took a short walk, up and down the street looking in at the shop windows. [They did not have enough money to pay for their purchases at the Bon Marché.] . . . very much against her will, Aunt E. borrowed the remainder of the 'Bureau.' When Uncle H. came he gave us our next month's allowance, so we were 'all right' again. Then we had a talk. Uncle H. told us something over which I have meditated a good deal lately. I do not know as I had better write it down though. I can remember it well enough.

"June 30th, Sabbath. [They heard a good sermon from a Bristol clergyman at the little English church.] I wore my brown suit for the first time, as my own large trunk was sent up yesterday. But I am sorry to say that it was not liked very well by my Uncle. The trimming, *brown*, was not a pretty color. Well! I am sorry, and mostly because my Uncle takes it so much to heart. . . . [The diarist and Mrs. Bancroft] went to the American chapel, as Uncle H. did not want to go. . . . We listened to another good sermon by a young American. . . . On our way home there was quite a crowd along the Champs Elysées and on the Rue St. Honoré . . . It seems that the Sultan of Turkey had just arrived with his suite, and the Emperor had been to meet him with his grand state carriage. . . . This kind of a show and excitement, and the crowd, are just what the french people delight in, and if it comes on their holiday, Sabbath, it is all the better, they think. We two had our dinner in the cozy little 'salle à manger,' here in the hotel, while Uncle H. went off down street. The dining-room does not contain more than three or four small tables, and we are all alone when we eat, generally. The gold fish on the side board and the plants in the windows make it very pleasant. . . .

"Monday, July 1st. . . . Today is the one for the distribution of prizes at the Exhibition. It is to be held in the Palais de L'Industrie in the Champs Elysées. The tickets for entering are *only* twenty francs a piece. And if we had gone in, we could not have seen the grand cortège, the arrival of the kings and queens. At noon we three met here (Hotel de Hollande), and after starting to see the sights we took a little luncheon." The crowds around the Palais de L'Industrie were so great that they could see nothing, in spite of taking a carriage. "At last my Uncle espied a ladder which was not quite full of people, and for two francs took the rest of it; climbing up on that, we could see splendidly. There were ladders and chairs and temporary platforms crowded with people all about us." She describes the grand cortège – cavaliers, carriages ("golden chariots"), horses, "footmen dressed in green and gold, Napoleon's livery," queens, princesses, noblemen, maids-of-honor, the Emperor and Empress, the Sultan, Turks "(handsome men they were too, dressed in the fashionable evening costume – black coat, white cravat, etc., except they wore their little red turkish caps). . . . And all day – everywhere in the street were people selling 'Le Grand Sultan' for one sou. The people stayed inside until five, nearly. In the meantime we found another place nearer the street, and with a chair we stayed there until they re-passed. The sortie was very much like the entré, except there was music among the soldiers to enliven it, and the Empress bowed a little oftener as the people cheered her. . . . After these two cortèges another smaller came. It was the Prince of Wales and the Lord Mayor of London in their own carriages. We did not think they were treated with a great deal of respect. They must have entered the building some time before the rest did. We went down street then for our dinner. . . .

"Tuesday, July 2d . . . [It rained, but they started for the Exhibition in a cab.] It seemed very natural to wander about there. We saw one new thing and that was the people at work on different articles – in little booths in the outermost circle. Some were shoe-making, others making nets and flowers, and one girl I saw sewing on one of our American machines, and on the point of selling one to a gentleman and lady. . . . They seem to be becoming very popular in Europe.

"We went out by the 'Grand Entrance.' It is covered with cloth dotted with Bees (Bonaparte), and together with the flags . . . fountains, and the beautifully dressed ladies, this entrance is certainly very 'grand.' I bought an opera glass while there. . . . We do not expect to visit it again – as we have seen all we can by walking about, and certainly we can not stop to examine everything . . . we stayed today until we were 'ready to drop.' . . .

"We rode to the 'Palais Royale' (where we dine) in a *car on rails.* They think that is something very wonderful in Paris. These cars are immense – holding 24 persons within and 26 outside without crowding either, and pulled by three horses. The rails do not extend very far; and when you come to the end — who would think of it but the french — they *change the wheels* to every car, every time it passes!

"Our dinner tasted good — only we felt very tired. We took a cab after that, and went to an establishment whose hats we had seen at the Exhibition, and Uncle H. bought two — and I one — pretty — very light drab hat for next winter, for 5 frcs 50 a piece!

"July 3d, 1867. The fatigue of Monday and yesterday was most too much for me.... I think it was my brain over-heated. I rested and slept while my Uncle and Aunt went out, and, as Aunt E. told me afterwards, becoming sick of trying to shop, they got in a carriage and sat still on the Champs Elysées watching the people pass, having a splendid time.... They returned to take me to dinner. We went to the 'Jardin des Tuilleries' first to hear the music. There is a band which plays there every afternoon.... The gentlemen promenade up and down, and look at the girls who sit near the walk....

"Our new things came home this evening. And better yet they are all paid for. Uncle H. likes my hat (leghorn, with a green and purple wreath) very much. But he will not tell whether he likes my linen suit or not. So, I am sure he does not, very well.

"July 4, 1867. This is our National Holiday, but it will make no difference to us travelers I presume.... We go to England tomorrow.... It has been raining, and during it Uncle H. came running in with all his new clothes on, for fear of spoiling them. He changed them, and now he has returned from the street with some warm croissants [coffee cake in shape of a crescent] and some fruit for our luncheon. . . . We have had a fourth of July! Although it rained fast, we went out, stopped at the nearest restaurant and took dinner. We sat by the window, and were to order anything we chose, Uncle H. said. Then he bought the 'Figaro,' which contains a list of all the plays, etc., and told Aunt Emily to choose, where she would like to go, and he would take us. She chose to go to one of two circuses, as we could not understand a french play if we went, she said. I was glad to go, only I should have much preferred going to hear Strauss' band, which, as the 'Figaro' says, plays every evening at the Great Exposition. . . . [It was the first circus the diarist had ever attended.] The trained dogs were very pretty, and the dancing horse was very handsome. The clowns did not amount to much, although they were American....

"Friday, July 5th. We arose not until nine, at breakfast at ten, packed up by eleven. We spent all our morning in running to Bon Marché for

Aunt Emily's parasol handle. The ivory one with the 'Bees' on it, which she bought in Dresden, and, because it was not there, going half way across the city to the house of the man who covers them. . . . Well, when we reached home the omnibus came and it was time to leave Paris. Too bad! . . . It was eleven when we reached Calais, and as dark as possible. They put us into an omnibus from the station, which took us to the wharf, and there we had to stand for an hour or more until the boat came in. And what a small boat it was – we wondered where they had put so many people as came off from her. [The weather was calm enough, but the boat rolled sidewise. They landed at Dover and started for London as it began to grow light.]

"In getting one of the seven trunks we had with us onto his cab, one of the drivers got angry about something, and almost struck a porter, whereupon the trunks were put on another cab and a guard standing near said to the unfortunate hackman: 'Now you wont get any of them, you know' – 'you know' is a great word with the English. . . .

"They gave us rooms here in the highest story, except the parlor which is a story lower, and we are to change our bedrooms, as soon as some man gets out of them. . . .

"July 6th, Saturday. . . . My Aunt and I took a short walk on the 'Strand,' which is a long street connecting the 'City' and the 'West End.' . . .

"July 7th, Sabbath . . . [They did not get up and breakfasted in time to go to church.] Uncle H. went late to hear Mr. Spurgeon* – across the river. I hope I shall hear him sometime. We went to church in the 'Temple Bar' in the afternoon. Barristers and lawyers live exclusively in this part of London, and support this church. They sit in the body of the church, while ladies and visitors find seats where they may. We listened to a very good sermon by a very young man – sickly too he was – and after church we walked in the garden. I heard 'choral singing' for the first time here. The singers dress in white gowns, and little boys sing the high parts. . . . The garden slopes down to the water's edge, and would be worth, oh – a fortune for building lots. . . . [They met friends and walked home.] We found my Uncle sound asleep on his bed. He had started to church with us – and we were all seated. But the seats had no backs, and, as we ladies went to take chairs that we saw in front, Uncle H. was left alone. When we left the church he was not there. He said he went home because he was sleepy. He is so odd that he is really funny, I think.

---

*Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892), English Baptist preacher.

"We went to hear Dr. Cummings* in the evening. Since we were strangers, we were obliged to wait nearly half an hour at the door until the service was commenced before they gave us seats. And then the english lady behind us tapped my Aunt on the shoulder, when the evening was almost over, with the *polite* speech, 'Will you oblige me by keeping your fan more quiet.' – That's english for you!

"I like Dr. Cummings. He is earnest, and engages one's attention. The service is scotch congregational.

"Monday, July 8th . . . We went to St. Paul's church to hear the singing." She found the outside in particular "immense looking" and "black and smoky . . . as all the houses are here – nearly. There is much fine wood carving about the walls and galleries. . . . I saw the whispering gallery away up in the dome. . . . If I had had any one who would have cared to go, I should have liked to join them.

"After our luncheon (Uncle H. was not here, for, as he said, he would be away most of the time in London. He is getting a library bound. He buys the books and has them re-bound by the *finest binder in the world!*), we two and Miss Carter drove in an omnibus out to 'Hyde Park.' . . . In 'Rotten Row' in the park there are a great many riders from twelve until two. Riding is the specialty of London and of England, my Uncle says. The ladies ride very prettily. . . .

". . . the english . . . certainly dress decidedly englishified and old fashioned. We are stared at very disagreeably when we go into the street with a short dress on – which 'on porte' entirely in Paris. We have hardly seen three since coming into London. And moreover their dresses look rumpled and crumpled, those that they wear on the street. They do not look so fresh and pretty as the Parisians.

"We went to 'Drury Lane' this evening, which is quite near here." They saw *The Great City;* the scenery was quite natural, but she thought "the merit of the plot was not great." She comments upon their having gas at their lodgings: "Yes! we actually have gas to sit by in our parlor." They had also had sunshine every day since their arrival. "The season here," she says, "is at its height.

"July 9th, 1867. (No. 14 Norfolk St., Mrs. Richards'.) I am sitting in our parlor before a window. We have two bedrooms here and a parlor, where we take our meals, and it is very cozy. . . . Aunt Emily orders the meals – cooked in the kitchen, and they come up without any more trouble. This morning we two were up so long before breakfast that we walked off to Covent Market, where the fruit is very fresh.... And while on the street we met Mr. Abbey, who told us they were staying next door to us, and asked us to call on his wife. We did so.... Then Uncle H. having disappeared when we returned home, we two had a luncheon of fruit and crackers.... [The diarist was to have two of her photographs colored by a protégée of Queen Victoria.]

---

*This might have been Joseph George Cumming, who became vicar of St. John's in Bethnal Green (East End of London) that year (1867).

"July 10th – Wednesday ... we did nothing very unusual last night. We had a cosy evening at home – each with a book. [Her Uncle H. had brought home many of the books he was having bound.] I read the 'Lady of Lyons' by Bulwer. They are playing it now in London, and we are going to hear it." She and her Aunt Emily visited Westminster Abbey. Of the monuments and tombs, she thought the "handsomest was the one built for Mary Queen of Scots.... Some of the ceilings are wonderful – carved out of stone and hanging from above like great stalactites....

"Patti is singing here now. The Vice Roy of Egypt is here ... and the Sultan is coming.... The Prince is going to take the Sultan to the opera next Monday night, in the best state manner. My Uncle applied for tickets this afternoon, but they were all taken except those next to the ceiling, and those were for sale at a guinea each! ... [They drove about the West End – Pall Mall with its] elegant stone club-houses. I think these clubs are much finer than some of the Royal Palaces. The Prince of Wales lives in a comfortable large red brick mansion, Marlborough House, surrounded with beautiful trees, but there is nothing at all extra about the appearance of the place – indeed many houses in Buffalo are finer." She comments on Buckingham Palace, fronting on St. James' Park, as being "very handsome"; she also describes the Thames from Waterloo Bridge – sail boats in the distance, and little steamers full of passengers plying up and down. She saw no counterparts, she says, of Dickens' characters, as described in the first chapters of *Our Mutual Friend.*

"Thursday, July 11th, '67. [The diarist and Miss Carter walked over to hear the queen's band play near Marlborough House; they also waited an hour or so in front of the gates to St. James' Park, to see the Prince and/or Princess of Wales pass, but had no luck.] The Prince returned home last night," she says, "as late as five A.M. and so must be sleepy this morning. [Their informant was the lodge-keeper, who was "very accommodating," and gave them the news about the royal family.] He is *almost* a gentleman, and sat there reading his paper. He knew all the grand people who passed on their way to Rotten Row. . . . One, it seems, the people call the 'King of Wales' because he is very rich and quite a favorite in that country."

They went to see the "Lady of Lyons"; had front seats in the dress circle. The actors she found "quite inferior" except for the hero and heroine. The play was "grand in some parts," however.

"Friday, July 12. [A lovely, sunny day; 2200 volunteers from Belgium on visit to England by invitation of the British.] We went to the Strand to see them pass. . . . A London crowd represents a Paris crowd no more than the Strand represents the 'Champs Elysees.' I was glad not to get any more mixed up in it. . . .

"The Belgians looked finely. . . . it was very pleasant to hear the people cheer, and see them wave their handkerchiefs. I had, for waving my handkerchief, bows from half a dozen of the soldiers, and others looked too scared to bow. They nearly all wore white kids. . . ." She, her Aunt and Uncle took a hansom cab and drove to Madame Toussaud's wax works. She liked the figures, except the one of "our murdered President," which, in her opinion, was not good. However, the one of "Madame herself I stood by some time before noticing that she did not move. . . .

"Saturday, July 13. The Abbeys made us a call last evening. They are going to Paris tomorrow and then are going to make the same trip we have just made. [It rained all day.] Aunt Emily's short dress came home, the first one that her english dressmaker had made." The diarist wrote some letters, and commenced one to her mother, but the "horrid english ale" made her stupid and sleepy. . . .

"Sabbath, July 14.* The people stare so rudely in the streets one would think we were barbarians. One little ragged urchin pushed another against me as we were coming home from church. Uncle H. was a little way behind us, and he said that if he had known that the boy meant it, he would have given him a knock on the head with his umbrella. He says himself that London never seemed so mean in so many little respects, as it does now, after leaving Paris. Still there are many disagreeable persons in Paris.

---

*In London on July 14th, Bancroft wrote in his "Journal . . ." (manuscript, Bancroft Library), p. 272: "I have been collecting a few books for Buffalo, and am having them bound. Also books on Cal and Mexico for San Francisco. Saw Mr. Henry G. Bohn yesterday. He is a hale hearty old man. . . ."

"We went to hear Spurgeon preach this morning. The building is so immense. . . . The church has room for seven thousand to find seats. The preacher can be seen by nearly every one, and there is no one in the house who can not hear him distinctly. . . . Mr. S. preached on the text, 'Be not afraid, I am with thee.' I like his mode of conducting the service, and his sermon was fine, with scarcely any notes. (A reporter sat under him taking the sermon.) . . . The church was full, many having to stand up. I think it wonderful that one man can attract so many, many thousands. Though if it were not for the truthfulness of the word of God, what could one poor man do? The large building . . . was perfectly quiet, and people are so determined to come that one woman brought her baby. . . . The little thing kept very still except its coo-ing, now and then.

". . . Later. I have finished a letter to my Mother. . . . The rest of the day . . . ran to waste without accomplishing much. Aunt Emily read to us and we 'talked' – and did not go to bed very early."

"Monday, July 15th. We have had one week of pleasant weather, and now I do not see but it is going to rain all the rest of the time we remain here. . . . We were going shopping today but the rain kept us at home in the morning. In the afternoon we went out in a cab." They bought her mother a Paisley shawl, which the diarist thought "very handsome. It is double and all border." They did some other shopping; then home again at seven P.M., "having had the cab just four hours. We had a call in the evening from a gentleman and lady from Chicago. Also from Mrs. Carter, who told us all about 'Spithead,' and who is herself excessesively english. She did not leave until nearly midnight.

"Tuesday, July 16th. [She and her aunt visited shops on Regent St.] . . . Half-past three. Aunt Emily is in a fidget for Uncle H. to come home, for she has learned from the 'Times' that Patti is to sing in 'Romeo and Juliette' with Morier, and she would so much like Uncle H. to procure tickets, which he cannot do after five o'clock. The Sultan, etc., are having a fete at the Crystal Palace. The sun is shining again.

"July 19, Friday. We have been off on a short trip and returned last night. Had it not rained all the time, we would perhaps have enjoyed it. I speak for my Uncle. I look back to it with pleasure as it was." They went to what was to be the "Grand Naval Review" at Spithead (part of the English Channel, between the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth). "We were off in a very long train at seven o'clock, although my Uncle had expressed a desire that we might be left." A terrific wind was blowing as they walked toward the beach at Portsmouth, which was lined with people for a mile or so. Two yachts, "common looking enough too," cruised along the shore; one was said to contain the queen, and the other the sultan, but there was no sign of their majesties. The diarist's party wanted to cross to the Isle of Wight; they waited, close together on a plank with their two umbrellas, for the boat to leave the pier; they had paid six pence but no boat left. It rained in sheets, so they gave up the idea of crossing, and had to pay another toll *to get off* the dock. They went to a pastry-cook's and got "a good cup of coffee"; then to a Miss Bond's, who colored photographs. "She colors so beautifully that the Queen . . . told her to use her name — Very good in the Queen." After this they went to Brighton, to the Grand Hotel, on the beach. "Looking seaward, we saw no land — it was splendid." It was too windy and rainy to walk on the beach, so they took a cab and drove about Brighton (many schools and public institutions in the town).

By one o'clock, they were en route to London. The sun was out. They "passed very near the Crystal Palace [at Sydenham] and Uncle H. says that I will not get so good a view of it when I go there. The glass roof was glistening in the sunshine, and the towers at each end made it look like some grand oriental palace." When they reached the London Bridge station, her Aunt E. took a little Thames boat home, while the diarist and her uncle walked to the Tower of London. It was closed; so they took a river boat and went to the "tunnel" under the Thames. It had not been a success, she says, as the people preferred the bridges. "It is lined with booths, and patronized mostly by visitors, so that they can buy 'a present from the Thames.'

"London, July 26th . . . I saw 'The Tower' yesterday. We had been looking at Wilton and Axminster carpets all the morning, and after taking luncheon and driving through the very centre of town on Cheapside and by the Post Office, the Bank of England, etc., we came to the entrance to the Tower. My Uncle and Aunt had both been through it, and as they wished to finish looking at carpets they left me, after Uncle H. bought my ticket for me, and gave me directions about getting home, etc. I was to stay in the waiting-room until a party was made up, when we were all to follow the guide assigned us. Our guide seemed a very kindly one." She speaks of the suits of armor, royal costumes, instruments of torture, beheading sites, crowns, crown jewels. "But it all seemed like so much brass and so many colored stones to me."

They were to go into the country to call on the family of Mr. J.

Whitaker, her Uncle H.'s agent; but it rained. She speaks of having met an American lady, Mrs. Hazard, and her little boy. Mr. Hazard had had to leave earlier for America, and Mrs. Hazard was to sail before the Bancrofts.

"July 27, Saturday. We have had such a pleasant day in the country. This morning it did not rain, and after driving about to various places on my Uncle's business until noon, we . . . took the train for Enfield. Mr. Whitaker . . . lives in Enfield when he is not in London on business. Aunt Emily and I went out to call on his family. We were about an hour reaching our destination. We walked to the house, which is only a short distance from the station. . . . Mrs. Whitaker is a step-mother to four children besides having six of her own – so there is quite a little family of them. The children all came in and shook hands with us. . . . After a noon dinner we had a fine time looking at their pet rabbits, goats, etc. and playing croquet. Everything was so fresh, and everybody so pleasant that, after being shut up in London for a few weeks, we enjoyed it immensely. . . . Mr. Whitaker, whom I saw for the first time then, came home towards six o'clock, when we had another game of croquet . . . and then tea. Mr. W. came back to London with us and saw us into a cab – it was already dark." Whereupon he returned to Enfield.

Sabbath, July 28.* They went across the river to hear Newman Hall [English dissenting minister, 1816-1902] preach in Surrey Chapel. She liked his sermon. In the afternoon, she and her Aunt went to St. George's Chapel, Hanover Square, to see the "West End" at worship. "The pews are so high that you can hardly see the tops of the people's heads. There were only a very few people out, as it was in the afternoon. . . ." She went again to church that day – to Savoy Chapel, near where they were staying, especially to hear a boy sing in a chorus with some dozen other boys.

"Monday, July 29th . . . We took a cab at ten and kept it until four –

---

*The entry in Bancroft's own "Journal . . ." for July 28, 1867, reads (p. 273): "The last two weeks have passed rapidly away. I have been hard at work and have very little to show for it. The London people have been quite 'knocked up' as they say with the excitement of entertaining the Sultan, Viceroy of Egypt, the Belgians, Wimbleton, etc. . . . I have spent much of my time book hunting. This is a business well understood here. 'I was mad on American books once myself,' Mr. Bohn says.

"I do not know what use the books on the Pacific Coast will be put to, but they will be very valuable to the coast, to somebody sometime, or rather always."

driving, I aver, *all over* London from the lower part of the city to and through the West End, and from the other side of the river to some remote region on this side. And nearly all the time we were hunting for carpets. Uncle H. also talked at various places about the greenhouse and plate glass windows he is going to have in his new house. But we found no carpets which *exactly* suit, and will probably continue our search tomorrow.

"Tuesday, July 30, '67. The carpets were bought today! Very pretty ones too. The one for the drawing room is Axminster with a border. It is called a 'persian carpet,' and was designed for warmer countries than England. I like it very much – it is two shades of green in squares, with circles and fine flowers running over the whole.... The carpets for the hall & stairs, also the sitting room and dining room, are Wilton, and also very pretty....

July 31st, Wednesday. Mr. Bohn, the famous collector of 'Bohn's Standard Library,' having become acquainted with my Uncle in a business way, insisted that we should all pay him a visit at his home in Twickenham, a mile or so from Richmond. His wife welcomed us very kindly.... He says we could walk a mile through his garden without doubling one portion of the walk. After luncheon ... our host kindly ordered his carriage and drove us to 'Hampton Court' [a description follows].... The grape vine belonging to the Queen contains 1500 bunches, which look finely...." Back at Mr. Bohn's, they had dinner, her Uncle escorting Mrs. Bohn to the table while another gentleman took in Mrs. Bancroft. "Aunt E. sang for us and we had quite a pleasant evening." The diarist says that Mr. Bohn is "seventy-five years old, and is worth a million dollars or more. I have not mentioned the curiosities and pictures Mr. Bohn has been collecting these thirty years. He took us through his museum as he called it... several rooms full of such trinkets as are contained in the 'green vaults' of Dresden [*see* her entry for June 4th (Dec. 1952 QUARTERLY, p. 367]. There are quantities of little sèvres china cups and saucers.... His ivory portraits are beautiful, and the entire walls of his house are covered with fine original paintings....

"August 1st, '67, Thursday... I am so sorry – Johann Strauss is coming to London just *too late* for us to hear him. He is the *real* Strauss, the papers say ... and is the one who has been at the Paris Exhibition, 'cutting up such a furore,' as the handbills have it.

"Although it is the first of August, Aunt E. and I wore our new winter or fall coats with a *great deal of comfort* – it has been so cool. We have been buying feathers for our drab hats. Mine is a 'heron's plume' which just suits me, although for less money I could buy an ostrich plume. We met Judge & Mrs. Skinner, Mr. & Mrs. Letchworth on the street. It was . . . pleasant to see them. They tell us that Mr. Geo. Ketchum's eldest little boy is dead.

"Mrs. Hazard made us a farewell call tonight. She leaves for Liverpool tomorrow morning. Uncle H. goes to the station with her at eight A.M. Tomorrow he proposes to take us to see the Crystal Palace."

London, August 2d, 1867. They went to see it, having to experience long waits at stations en route, "until our patience was well-nigh exhausted." They saw the booths, the artificial ponds in the center of the building, with lilies growing in them; there were fountains and tropical plants, etc.; and a great organ which they heard played several times. The Royal Horse Band also gave a concert. They walked about, "taking refreshments, besides buying nick-nacks until it was dark enough for the fireworks to commence, which was the great occasion of the day . . . brilliant wheels, sky rockets, balloon ascensions and the set pieces. . . . Our short dresses attracted no attention while there —oh no!" Crowds rushing for the first-class cars made it difficult to get seats on their way home, and annoyed her Uncle H., but "we ladies both found seats, while for a short distance he sat on the arm between the seats. It was midnight before we reached home."

August 3d. They went to the zoölogical garden in Regents Park, and saw "two tame elephants which carried children about on their backs. There was a camel and dromedary also used for the same purpose.

"We received a piece of news today which pleases us all very much. A very small H. H. Bancroft has entered the world, and Uncle H. is very proud of his name sake. Aunt Fannie [Bancroft] has a baby! much to Uncle Al's joy and ours. . . . We all immediately began pondering upon the present that Uncle H. should give to the baby . . . nothing has been decided as yet.

"Sunday, August 4th, London. Aunt E. found herself tired after her walk yesterday, and Uncle Hubert and I went to hear Dr. Cummings [?] alone. I liked his sermon . . . We were seated up in the gallery where the air was so oppressive that it was impossible not to be drowsy, but as Uncle H. said, the seats were not at all the right sort to sleep in, so that we were rather more uncomfortable than otherwise. The afternoon we spent in sleeping."

That evening they went to the Savoy Chapel. Afterwards they called on a Mrs. Palmer. "They [Mr. & Mrs. Palmer] have an American piano and have lived in America three years, so that it seemed quite like home to see them and talk to them. . . .

"Monday, Aug. 5th. After returning to my chamber last night, I bored my ears with a needle and black silk. Aunt Emily was quite astonished. We have had a walk to market this morning, and I am going again to buy some oranges for dessert. It is a lovely day, very much like our fine weather at home.

"London, August 6th, Tuesday. I shall not date my journal from 'London' much longer. We intend leaving here Thursday morning."*

---

*H. H. Bancroft wrote in his "Journal . . ." on August 7, 1867, p. 276: "There is but one thing after all worth working for while in this world, and that is, for the more perfect development of that part of our being which lives after the grave. This is the only permanent investment which can be made. Everything else must be handed over to others when that change is made."

British Comment – As of 1849-1851

By S. Laird Swagert

Because of the lack of regular means of communication, news of the California gold discoveries was circulated around the globe mainly by word of mouth. Mormons returning from the mines, army dispatch-riders, and skippers who could gather enough of a crew to put out from San Francisco – all of them carried the tidings, which they exchanged with travelers for bits of news from other parts of the world. Ship captains and land travelers also took with them letters written by Californians. These unsealed messages to relatives at home were carried by the original bearer, until he could forward them by someone who was going closer to the destination of the letter. Each time the letters changed hands, they were read and reread. In this manner, the news was spread from ship to ship, from port to port, from island to island, and from country to country.

By January 6, 1849, nearly a year after Marshall's discovery, sufficient information had reached England to permit of great publicity being given to the event. An article in the *Athenaeum* of that date hailed California as the "El Dorado" of the Spanish conquistadors, as the dream of the Columbian age come true, and as the realization of the vision of Raleigh and other early explorers.[1] "The gold region exists," wrote one enthusiast, "not in the unsubstantial air of the Atlantis of Plato, or in the Utopia of Thomas More, but in a country to which ships can sail and . . . men can pick up the treasure, that smiles at their feet."[2]

It was reported that Mormons, who had "recently migrated from their settlements on the Mississippi to the banks of the Sacramento," considered the discoveries a special dispensation from Providence; "unquiet spirits" in the United States, England, Germany, and France, were "preparing for a descent upon this new and more prolific Gold Coast."[3]

An English writer, tempted at first "to suppose the whole affair a popular delusion, or a deliberate exaggeration, after a well-known transatlantic manner," admitted that such a supposition was "not tenable."

In fact, the Americans appeared "to have some additional and unexpected reasons for congratulating themselves upon the recent acquisition of California from Mexico."[4]

However, this paper, *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, soon reverted to scepticism and stated in a lengthy article that, "unless all experience is vain, and something like a miracle should take place, we must quickly hear of miserable disasters in California." The British editor listed several reasons why they should occur: (1) Every alluvial deposit in history had been short-lived, and since the mother ore, in the case of the California discoveries, was located high in the mountains, it would be inaccessible. (2) The dangers and difficulties encountered en route to the gold fields would prevent working them effectively. (3) The place had become the resort of desperate characters from the ports of South America, and of the wildest adventurers from the United States. "The unsettled wanderers from Texas, run-away sailors from the South Sea whalers, deserters from the army, and the idle profligates abounding in the islands of the Pacific," said the *Journal*, composed the mass of the population. They lived without law, religion or morality. "The accounts of rapine and murder from the district are what might be expected in such a society. Fourteen detected murders are stated to have taken place at the diggings shortly previous to the writing of the letter conveying this intelligence." (4) The importations of gold, both into the United States or into Europe, were not sufficient to confirm the reported immensity of the discoveries, as the whole sum did not amount to an eighth-part of the produce of the mines in the Ural Mountains in the same period. For these reasons, the editor thought, "the whole history of this marvelous land treasure seems now to be resolving itself into a land-jobbing speculation of some go-ahead Yankees to attract population to their waste allotments."[5]

On the other hand, in the course of his review of half-a-dozen books on California, a writer in the *Athenaeum* held that the effects of political changes in Europe during the year just past (1848) – when kings were "discrowned" and new republics set up – were small in comparison with the effects to be anticipated from the discovery that had been reported in "a letter from an obscure river in an unknown wilderness." As cited by the reviewer, this letter stated that the British were mistaken if they fancied they had been doing, with their revolutions and proclamations, their "artillery and rhetoric, the world-work of the year." Marshall's discovery, said the reviewer, the evidence of which "is now so various, minute, and authoritative that there is little room left for even cautious scepticism . . . will be unquestionably the great revolution of the year of revolutions." The results would be, in fact, as far-reaching as those of the first discovery, which had poured, annually, a vast quantity of precious metals into Spain. Already, the stock exchange in London had begun

> . . . to quiver like the ground above a coming earthquake, at the thought of an importation of American "broad pieces" . . . So far as the general interests of mankind are concerned, America is now discovered, as it were, a second time. The great mystery is solved — the Dorado is found; not on the Amazon, where it was sought by the early adventurers, but on the Sacramento. Mr. Marshall may claim to divide the honors with Columbus.[6]

As to England, herself, and "the golden harvest now gathering by the sackfuls in California," the editor of *Bentley's Miscellany* expressed it thus:

> It becomes a more serious subject for reflection as to how this new discovery will affect ourselves. To us, no doubt, the splendid evil will come, but in a mitigated form. Rank gold will come filtered, and ennobled through the medium of commerce, and the great change will be gradual. Still the great change must come, and the relative position of debtor and creditor will be materially affected.
>
> * * * * *
>
> There are grave questions for political economists and financial reformers now to speculate upon concerning this matter. One thing seems certain, that England, as she contains more money's worth than any other country, has less to fear from the threatened glut of gold. Her iron, and her coals, her railways, docks, and factories; above all, her native industry and energies are sources of real wealth that can never be radically affected: they may temporarily languish, but can never fail.
>
> To the philosopher, the political economists, the geologist, however, this golden land becomes of as deep interest as to the miser.[7]

Actually, there was no need for anyone in California to play the complicated role of miser. The whole thing was simple, according to the *Illustrated London News:* ". . . men opened up a vein of gold just as coolly as you would open a potato hill."[8] In a special article a month later, a writer for the same journal stated that lazy miners picked up the large pieces, "leaving the small gold for the next emigration." For instance, Larkin was reported as saying that a miner had gone to the edge of a strange creek during the noon rest; he had scooped up a pan of dirt, and had extracted two three-ounce pieces of gold in fifteen minutes. These he threw over his shoulder, saying, "I thought so."[9] The comic journal, *Punch,* contained a full-page illustration of life at the diggings, based upon this incident.[10]

Nevertheless, the English were quick to respond to the call of the gold fields. Just when the first party left for California is not known, but the Royal Mail steamer, *Great Western,* which sailed the second week in January 1849, had on board over 100 passengers for Chagres, port-of-call on the Isthmus of Panama. The cargo included "a number of large bundles of pickaxes and shovels for California," and the personal luggage was said to have been of "extraordinary weight." Some well-wishers of the passengers were carried out to sea and returned in the pilot's boat.[11]

Fresh enthusiasm for gold hunting was generated in England by the arrival of the Royal Mail steamer, *Tay,* on February 10, 1849. The vessel carried a monetary shipment of 177,456 pounds sterling, which included 133 pounds and six ounces of gold dust.[12] Upon the reception of this actual evidence, lengthy articles appeared telling of new wonders existing in California. One individual was said to have secured a solid piece, weighing twenty-five pounds; and, as the gold was considered to be "generally very pure," its value was estimated at between £1500 and £2000. The United States government was reported as having received information which it thought not expedient to publish, "lest the national frenzy should be excited to a degree that would cause an influx of population into California infinitely too great to find subsistence in it."

The extent of the gold-bearing country was scarcely known. Latest accounts represented it as 800 miles long and 100 miles wide; and quicksilver was said to be "as abundant as gold in the wonderful mountains of the Sierra Nevada." To the *Illustrated London News* of February 10, 1849, California was, indeed, "the brightest star in the American galaxy," and considerable space was given to a discussion of the problem of administering the area, the readers of the paper being assured that "the attention of statesmen and practical men" was being "earnestly devoted to the task of rendering its resources more immediately available. . . ." Continuing, the editor said:

> An effort has already been made to regulate the diggings by an Act of Congress, so as to place in the hands of the Government an actual control over the workmen, and over the field of their operations, but the proposed interference has found no favor with the bulk of the Americans, and will probably not be insisted upon, – at least for the present. The subject of conveyance to and from the gold country is of more immediate importance to a community smitten with the fierce desire of sudden and easy riches.[13]

The gold fever in England mounted rapidly. Every westbound ship carried passengers for California. One adventurer, a bank teller, was arrested for attempting to finance his trip with £350 stolen from the vaults of his employers.[14] From the opposite direction came letters addressed to relatives and friends in the British Isles, and greatly modifying the then-existing tales of romance and ease on which the deluded teller had acted. It was learned that "even in El Dorado the way is strewn with thorns." The workers had to wade in ice-water up to their knees, the sun was boiling hot, and good drinking water was scarce. Food was poor and meager, and many gold seekers were sick with ague and fever. In addition to the cholera and the fatigue of the overland route, the Indians had "assembled in great numbers for the purpose of attacking the immigrants who journey through the Rio Grande, — the Mexican portions of the Texan territory. . . ." Even if a miner met success at the mines, "on returning to San Francisco, gambling, drinking, and exposure produce sad havoc among the reckless many."[15]

Good advice, to those who persisted in going, was assuredly needed and was given in a gold-seeker's letter, as reprinted in the *Athenaeum* from an American paper:

> If any suppose that gold can be procured without labor, and that of the severest kind, they are, I assure you, very much mistaken. Why, laying water or gas pipes in the streets of New York is not half as toilsome work. No man should come to this country with the expectation of making his fortune at the mines by getting out gold, but such a one as feels fully able to dig about one half dozen graves a day, taking a cold bath every 15 or 20 minutes during his work, and whilst in a profuse perspiration, and that without injury to the constitution. It would not be a bad plan to practice this for a month before leaving the United States.[16]

Many of the westbound Englishmen did not plan to dig for gold, but to sell goods at the high California prices. Spades and shovels, blankets, flour, sugar, brandy — all were in demand and money could be made.[17]

(To be continued)

NOTES

(For economy of space, abstracts have been made of some of the passages from the British press given above in the text.)

1. Review, in the *Athenaeum* of Jan. 6, 1849, pp. 34-35, of Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California . . . in the Years 1846 and 1847* [New York, 1848].
2. "The Gold of California," *Illus. London News,* Jan. 6, 1849, p. 1.
3. Review of Bryant's *What I Saw . . .* (as above).

4. "Gold Finding in California," *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, Jan. 27, 1849, p. 61.

5. "California – Coming Disappointments," *ibid.*, May 19, 1849, pp. 316-18.

6. Review, in the *Athenaeum* of Feb. 17, 1849, p. 157, of J. Tyrwhitt Brooks' *Four Months among the Gold Finders in Alta-California . . .* [London, 1849]; Professor David T. Ansted, *The Gold Seeker's Manual* [London, 1849]; *Emigrant's Guide to California*, by a Traveller [London, n.d.]; James Wyld, Esq., M.P., *A Guide to the Gold Country of California* [London, n.d.]; *Geographical and Mineralogical Notes, to accompany Mr. Wyld's Map of the Gold Regions of California* [London, 1849]; *The Gold Regions of California; a Geographical, Topographical and Historical View of that Country, from the Official Reports transmitted to the American Government* [London, n.d.]. It is now known that Brooks was in reality Henry Vizatelly.

7. "El Dorado," *Bentley's Miscellany*, Feb. 1849, p. 192.

8. "The Gold of California," *Illus. London News*, Jan. 6, 1849, pp. 1-2.

9. "The Gold Seekers of California," *ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1849, p. 83.

10. *Punch*, Jan. to June 1849, p. 20.

11. *Illus. London News*, Jan. 20, 1849, p. 37.

12. *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1849, p. 87.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

14. *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1849, p. 123.

15. "California," *ibid.*, July 14, 1849, p. 20.

16. "Gold-getting in California" [extract from San Francisco letter], *Athenaeum*, July 14, 1849, p. 725.

17. "The Gold of California," *Illus. London News*, Jan. 6, 1849, p. 2.

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

Name	Address	Proposed by
	Active	
Alex L. Arguello	San Francisco	Hon. Robert McWilliams
Jack Craemer	San Rafael	Mrs. B. K. Dunshee
Russel G. D'Oench, Jr.	Sunnyvale	Warren R. Howell
Frank L. Fenton	San Francisco	Donald C. Biggs
Martin Flavin	Pebble Beach	Donald M. Gregory
Mrs. Susie Fountain	Arcata	Mrs. Esther Ruth Smith
Walter N. Frickstad	Oakland	Membership Committee
Mrs. Robert Galway	San Francisco	Miss Annie O'Callaghan
Mrs. E. S. Gillette, Jr.	San Francisco	Mrs. Dean Witter
Miss Margaret Griffith	San Francisco	Mrs. William J. Lindenberger
M. A. Grosse	Fresno	Harold G. Schutt
John W. Gunter	San Francisco	James Abajian
Mrs. William Hanton	San Francisco	Miss Annie O'Callaghan
Keith Kelsey	Los Angeles	Carl I. Wheat
Harold L. Levy	San Francisco	Milton D. Eisner
Mrs. Frank Mellus	Los Angeles	H. R. Wagner
Newbegin's Book Store	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Harry J. Oser	San Francisco	Milton D. Eisner
Milton T. Pflueger	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Pomona Public Library	Pomona	Membership Committee
George W. Pracy	San Francisco	A. Dal Thomson
Francis Price	Santa Barbara	Allen L. Chickering
Patrick Regan	Hayward	Membership Committee
Gordon I. Smith	San Rafael	Membership Committee
Mrs. Vera Dolbow Stewart	Pacific Grove	Mrs. Ralph H. Cross
University of California Library	Riverside	Membership Committee
Eric G. Warner	Los Angeles	Membership Committee

EDITORS' NOTE: The annual reports (1952) of the Society's president, treasurer, and librarian, together with a review of the annual meeting on January 23, 1953, are scheduled to appear in the June number of the QUARTERLY; similarly, obituaries and notes on new members.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial, arranged by year of gift.

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Ann May Perry
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman
William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
Julia Stamper Berman

Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Eleanor Smith Boone
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Glada V. Elden
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Emma T. Kessler
Eva M. Koch
Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Margaret N. Hart
Flodden W. Heron
Elizabeth Thacher Kent
Douglas Stuart Loud
Jean Parker McEwen
Irving Martin
George Lovett Merwin
C. O. G. Miller
John J. Newbegin
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Thomas L. Phillips
Ruth Loring Richardson
Warren Russell
Irving M. Scott, Jr.
Willard Brown Thorp
George F. Williamson
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata

1953

Frank H. Allen
Herbert Eugene Bolton
Florence Osterero Cullen
Lillie E. Davis
Jerry W. DeCou
Mabel L. Holmes
Winifred M. Menzies
Olga M. Meyer
J. Sheldon Potter
Lynn Townsend White

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

December 1, 1952, to March 1, 1953

Atwill Family Collection

Joseph F. Atwill established himself as California's first music publisher on San Francisco's Portsmouth Plaza in 1849. His granddaughter, Miss Augusta Atwill Bloomer, has presented 165 photographs and daguerreotypes of the Atwill and related families of Dugliss, Bloomer, Keith, Pinkerton, and Reynolds. In addition, the gift includes family mementos, two volumes of theatrical programs, and 128 pre-1906 California views.

Burns-Breen Map Collection

Through Mr. Harry Breen of Hollister, grandson of the Donner Party's Patrick Breen, Sr., the Society has received materials collected by his uncle, Thomas P. Burns, San Francisco. The major portion consists of 35 maps of San Francisco and vicinity, 1835-1860. Although the largest share are photostatic copies, there are also important originals. Charts showing the exact location of William Richardson's residence, San Francisco, 1835; scrapbooks of clippings concerning San Francisco land claims, 1852-61; and San Francisco theater programs, 1898-1905, are among other items of historical interest presented by Mr. Breen.

Eldridge Portrait Collection

Mrs. James Jenkins, San Francisco, has presented photographs collected by her great-grandparents, Benjamin and Eliza Eldridge, during the Civil War period. Representative of the prominent California names included are those of Benchley, Lacy, Willey, King, Hensley, Rulofson, Talbot, Shew, Bacon, Ellis, and Badger.

Esdon Family Papers

Alexander Esdon, Livermore, operated a hay and grain business. His diaries and account books, 1860-82; small quantities of trade cards and business invoices; and photographs are source materials for Alameda County history. His son, Erskine E. Esdon, Y.M.C.A. worker and later Soquel teacher, 1923-40, is represented by correspondence and other items illustrating his own career. The papers are the gift of Miss Florence R. Keene, San Francisco, who has generously supplemented the gift with correspondence and photographs from her own collection.

Torrey-Wood-Taft Papers

"New England and the West" characterizes the correspondence, 1843-1914, mainly between the three daughters of Samuel D. Torrey, Millbury, Massachusetts. Delia C. Torrey arrived in San Francisco during the Civil War to be with her sister, Mrs. Samuel A. Wood. Their letters describe friends, family life, and Delia's positions, first with Mary Atkins' Young Ladies Seminary, Benicia, and later with San Francisco's Collegiate Institute. Other letters from the third sister, Mrs. Alphonso Taft, Cincinnati, mother of William Howard Taft, allow this collection to be considered as Taftiana. The donor of the group is Mrs. S. A. Wood, San Francisco.

Materials of great interest also have been contributed by many friends in many places:

Alameda
George S. Williams

Alturas
Miss Dorothy V. Gloster

Auburn
H. S. Furlong

Belvedere
Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin

Berkeley
Anson S. Blake
Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
Mrs. Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
Aubrey Drury
Ralph Johnson
Hobart M. Lovett
Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. J. H. Thomas
Mrs. Otto Tinneman
Miss Emily L. Turner

Beverly Hills
Garner A. Beckett

Boyes Hot Springs
H. E. Rensch

Brisbane
Paul L. Henchey

Carmel
Mrs. Theodore L. Bogert

Chicago, Ill.
Mutual Insurance 200th Anniversary Committee

CHICO
 Mrs. Henria Packer Compton
CULVER CITY
 Andrew F. Rolle
DAVIS
 Tracy I. Storer
DINUBA
 Clarence L. Fraser
EAGLEVILLE
 Mrs. Irvine Grove
HANFORD
 W. C. Williams
HAYWARD
 Mrs. H. E. Cunningham
HOLLISTER
 Harry J. Breen
KINGSTON, N. Y.
 Mrs. Mortimer B. Downer
LOS ANGELES
 Henry H. Clifford
 Phil Townsend Hanna
 Mrs. Ana Bégué de Packman
 P. M. Pike
 Mrs. Amy Requa Russell
MARKLEEVILLE
 Mrs. Lester T. Price
MENLO PARK
 Craig Owens
MOUNT HERMON
 J. D. Keith
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.
 Edward Eberstadt and Sons
 H. H. Glanz
OAKLAND
 Mrs. Ralph Coffey
 Harold C. Holmes
 Mrs. Lawton Kennedy
 Joseph R. Knowland
 Mrs. Richard M. Lyman, Jr.
 Mrs. W. B. McBeth
 Mrs. Arthur S. Maloon
 Albert E. Norman
 Mrs. William Pattiani
 A. T. Shine
ORINDA
 Mrs. Wallace Alexander
 Perc S. Brown
PACIFIC GROVE
 Miss Adelaide Taylor
PALM SPRINGS
 Mrs. Frank Bennett
PALO ALTO
 George L. Harding
PIEDMONT
 Henry D. Nichols
PLACERVILLE
 Mrs. True Durbrow
RIO VISTA
 Peter Cook, Jr.
ROSS
 Mrs. B. K. Dunshee
SACRAMENTO
 William F. Gilson
SALINAS
 Mrs. Helen B. Currie
SAN BERNARDINO
 L. Burr Belden
SAN DIEGO
 Ben F. Dixon
 Don N. Driese
SAN FRANCISCO
 James Abajian
 Miss Edith Allyne
 Miss Lucy H. Allyne
 Miss Maud Barton
 K. K. Bechtel
 Miss Augusta Atwill Bloomer
 Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs
 Thomas P. Brown
 George H. Cabaniss, Jr.
 George T. Cameron
 Robert W. Clyde
 Mrs. Walter Alfred de Martini

Peter Masten Dunne, S.J.
Miss Alice Eastwood
Miss Elisabeth L. Egenhoff
Sidney M. Ehrman
Charles Elsey
Francis P. Farquhar
Miss Florence M. Forsberg
Mrs. Guy Gilchrist
Donald F. Gilson
William H. Gorrill
Arthur W. Hooper
Mrs. James Jenkins
A. P. Johnston
Miss Florence R. Keene
Lawton Kennedy, Printer
Alexander T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Alex Libsohn
Samuel Lilienthal
A. R. Liljequist
A. M. McCarty
John B. McGloin, S.J.
Mrs. Parker S. Maddux
David Magee Bookstore
J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
Mrs. L. M. Milisich
Robert Watt Miller
Pacific Inter-Club Yacht Association of Northern California
Mrs. William J. Reid
Walter A. Rivers
Rudolph Schilling
Porter Sesnon
Paul Smith
Mrs. Sigmund Stern
Juran Strauss
Teddy N. Toklas
Mrs. Samuel A. Wood
Miss Lottie G. Woods
Edgar T. Zook

SAN LEANDRO
  Miss Ynez Estudillo
  Mrs. Edward P. Schlichtmann

SAN LORENZO
  Mrs. Ivy Miller

SANTA BARBARA
  Mrs. M. Donohoe Carter
  Elbert S. Conner
  Mrs. W. F. Kelly

SHASTA
  Henry Collins

SONOMA
  Mrs. Madie D. Brown
  Mrs. Lorin H. Tryon

SONORA
  Mrs. Ruth A. Newport

SUISUN
  Rodney M. Rulofson

TULARE
  Brooks D. Gist

Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. History of the Life of Leland Stanford; a Character Study. Oakland, Biobooks, 1952. vii, 235 p. ports. $15.00.

BIGGER, RICHARD, and J. D. KITCHEN. How the Cities Grew; a Century of Municipal Independence and Expansionalism in Metropolitan Los Angeles. Los Angeles, Haynes Foundation, 1952. xii, 256 p. maps. $2.50.

CHAMBERS, CLARKE A. California Farm Organizations; a Historical Study of the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Associated Farmers, 1929-1941. Berkeley, University of California, 1952. xv, 277 p. $3.75.

Compton, Henria Packer. Mary Murdock Compton. [Chico] 1953. 27 p. port. [Privately printed]

Coulter, Edith M., and Eleanor A. Bancroft, eds. Account of a Tour of the California Missions, 1856; the Journal and Drawings of Henry Miller. San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1952. 5 p.*l.*, 59 p. illus. $16.50 to members.

Drury, Aubrey. John A. Hooper and California's Robust Youth. Together with a Foreword by Arthur W. Hooper. San Francisco [Lawton Kennedy] 1952. 85 p. plates, ports. [Privately printed]

Gist, Brooks D. The Years Between [1853 to 1953; the Story of the First One Hundred Years of California's San Joaquin Valley] Tulare [Author] 1952. 3 p.*l.*, 224 p., 9 *l.* illus. $3.50.

Hammond, George Peter, ed. The Larkin Papers; Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California. Volume III, 1845. Berkeley, University of California, 1952. xxvi, 372 p. front. $10.00.

Hanna, Phil Townsend, and William Webb. A Map of the Marked Historical Sites of California Compiled from the Official Registrations of the California State Department of Natural Resources. [Los Angeles] Automobile Club of Southern California, c1952. $1.50.

McKee, Irving, ed. Alonzo Delano's California Correspondence; Being Letters Hitherto Uncollected from the Ottawa (Illinois) *Free Trader* and the New Orleans *True Delta*, 1849-1852. Sacramento, Book Collectors Club, 1952. xxv, 155 p. illus., maps. $15.00.

Meany, Andree. La Californie; une Merveilleuse Aventure. San Francisco, Adrian Wilson, 1953. 5 p.*l.*, 62 p. $5.50.

Packman, Ana Begue de. Early California Hospitality; the Cookery Customs of Spanish California, with Authentic Recipes and Menus of the Period. Fresno, Academy Library Guild, 1952. 182 p. illus. $3.75. [New ed.]

Robinson, William Wilcox. The Indians of Los Angeles; Story of the Liquidation of a People. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1952. 42 p. $5.00.

Swan, Howard. Music in the Southwest, 1825-1950. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1952. 316 p. illus. $5.00.

Marginalia

Notes on Authors in This Issue:

Dwight L. Clarke, a native of Berkeley, California, began his business career in the trust department of the Union Trust Co. of San Francisco. In 1916 he entered the general banking field with the Security Trust Co. in Bakersfield, moving thence in 1932 to Los Angeles to take charge of the Bank of America's branches in Southern California, exclusive of those in the city of Los Angeles. Some four years later he became executive vice-president of the Occidental Life Insurance Co. of California; then its president, retiring in 1950, though active as a director. In San Francisco, Mr. Clarke is a sustaining member of this Society, and a member of the Book Club of California. His memberships in the southern part of the state include the Historical Society of Southern California; also, the Zamorano Club, of which he is one of the governors.

As qualifications for the position of historian for the U. S. air force at Hamilton Field, Marin County, California, William Hanchett (b. Evanston, Ill., 1922) had personal experience as a pilot during the last war to add to his basic training in history. In recognition of his work in that subject, the University of California granted him a Ph.D. degree in 1952; this award followed two years' practical experience as a teaching assistant in history there, and another year teaching history and government at Lincoln University, an Oakland-San Francisco law school. He is now giving a course, one evening a week, in California government in the San Francisco State College Extension Division at Santa Rosa.

Stephen Perry Jocelyn is the author of *Mostly Alkali* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1953), a biography of his father, Gen. S. P. Jocelyn, who becomes known to the reader, along with the actual terrain on which the Modoc, Nez Perce, and Bannock wars were fought, through use of the general's own journals and letters. Mr. Jocelyn (A.B., Harvard Univ., 1916) attended Mt. Tamalpais Military Academy, San Rafael, California, 1904-1905. In 1917, as captain with the Sixteenth Infantry Division, he was among the first troops to land in France. He was subsequently assigned to the air service and participated in the Meuse and Aisne campaigns. Mr. Jocelyn does not say how high a percentage of air force personnel, once the pressure on their own wings is released, take up the poultry business. *He* did, in France, in a big way, raising Black Bresse hens, and inventing, besides, "Ouizie," a poultry mash. In 1933 he sold his French farm and traveled in Africa and Oceania. Back again in France, he retired, until, during the second European war, he came to Florida, where he lived until 1945, when he again crossed the Atlantic to take up his residence, this time on a fruit farm at Appoigny (Yonne).

H. F. Raup (Ph.D., Univ. Calif., 1935), whose article on the Italian-Swiss in California appeared in the December 1951 issue of this QUARTERLY, has been chairman of the department of geography and geology at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, for many years. (For biog. note, *see* this QUARTERLY, Dec. 1948, pp. 380-81). Of his writings, two may be mentioned here: "Place Names of the California Gold Rush," an independent study of 827 such names in Trinity, Amador, and Calaveras counties (*Geog. Rev.*, XXXV, No. 4, 1945), made while he was associated with the U. S. Board on Geographical Names; and "The Fence in the Cultural Landscape" (*Western Folklore*, VI, No. 1, 1947), in which he gives the reader a glimpse into the motives of the fence builder, and the social implications of his handiwork. Dr. Raup's co-author in the present article, Lt. (jg) William B. Pounds, Jr., is a graduate of Kent State University. For the subject of his M.A.

thesis (1951) he took "Avon Lake [northern Ohio]: A Study in Suburban Geography."

In preparation for his M.A. degree, granted in 1938, S. Laird Swagert (b. Galesburg, Ill., 1913) specialized in the history of the west. The next decade was spent in teaching in his native state, in Iowa, and in southwest Texas; also, in service as an officer in the U. S. navy, 1943-46. By 1948, the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in political science having been completed, it was granted to him by the State University of Iowa. He is now associate professor of political science at the San Jose State College.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Joseph R. Knowland, *President*
Francis P. Farquhar, *First Vice-President*
Homer D. Crotty, *Second Vice-President*
Ralph H. Cross, *Third Vice-President*
Warren R. Howell, *Secretary*
George L. Harding, *Treasurer*

K. K. Bechtel
Anson S. Blake
Allen L. Chickering
Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Aubrey Drury
A. T. Leonard, Jr.
Robert Watt Miller
William H. Orrick
Carl I. Wheat
Mrs. Dean Witter

Editorial Advisory Committee: Allen L. Chickering, *Chairman;* Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter, *Assistant Chairman;* Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Edgar M. Kahn, Miss Adele Ogden.

Committee on Special Publications: Francis P. Farquhar, *Chairman;* Allen L. Chickering, William W. Clary, George L. Harding, Miss Caroline Wenzel, Carl I. Wheat, Lynn T. White, Jr.

Committee on Membership and Publicity: Aubrey Drury, *Chairman;* Henry F. Dutton, Edgar M. Kahn, Joseph R. Knowland, George H. Kress, Miss Else Schilling.

Committee on Luncheon Meetings: Aubrey Drury, *Chairman;* Anson S. Blake, Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Henry C. Collins, Mrs. James Jenkins, Mrs. Gerald D. Kennedy, Loren B. Taber, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann.

Committee on Rooms and Exhibits: Warren Howell, *Chairman;* Mrs. A. J. Bancroft, A. T. Leonard, Jr., Miss Frances M. Molera, Albert Shumate, Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Committee on Historic Names and Sites: A. T. Leonard, Jr., *Chairman;* Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Clarence Coonan, Ralph H. Cross, Edgar B. Jessup.

Committee on Library and Gifts: Ralph H. Cross, *Chairman;* Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Elbert S. Conner, Miss Edith Coulter, Augustin S. Macdonald, Edward Porter Pfingst, A. T. Shine, Paul A. Sinsheimer, Chester W. Skaggs, Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Committee on Finance: George L. Harding, *Chairman;* Kenneth K. Bechtel, Garner A. Beckett, Allen L. Chickering, Colbert Coldwell, Francis P. Farquhar, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann, Mrs. Dean Witter.

Patron Members

Mrs. Wallace Alexander
Miss Edith W. Allyne
Miss Lucy H. Allyne
K. K. Bechtel
F. W. Beinecke
Mrs. Irving Berlin
Anson S. Blake
Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs
George T. Cameron
Mrs. William Cavalier
Allen L. Chickering
William W. Crocker
Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Edward A. Dickson
Mrs. Edward L. Doheny
O. D. Donnell, Jr.
Sidney M. Ehrman
Mrs. Sidney M. Ehrman
Charles Elsey
James Flood
Hon. Louis F. Goodman
Edward H. Heller
Miss Margaret A. Jacks
Ralph B. Lloyd
Parker S. Maddux
Mrs. Stuart Middlemas
Henry D. Nichols
Mrs. William P. Roth
Mrs. Henry Potter Russell
Miss Else Schilling
Rudolph Schilling
Mrs. Walter Schilling
Porter Sesnon
Gene M. Tansey
Tallant Tubbs
Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Miss Johanna Volkmann
Willard O. Wayman
Mrs. Dean Witter

Sustaining Members

Mrs. John Payson Adams
Mrs. Merritt Adamson
Mrs. Leonora Wood Armsby
John B. F. Bacon
Mrs. Willis R. Bailard
Wakefield Baker
Paul Bancroft
Philip Bancroft
Bank of America
Otto Barkan, M.D.
Garner A. Beckett
Frederick W. Beinecke
Mrs. Frank Bennett
Victor J. Bergeron
Donald C. Biggs
Nathaniel Blaisdell
Leon Bocqueraz
Joseph E. Bolt
Mrs. James G. Boswell
John D. Bradley
J. R. Brehm
George L. Browning, M.D.
Mrs. Carlton Bryan
Mrs. George Cadwalader
Mrs. Henry Cartan
Selah Chamberlain, Jr.
Harold S. Chase
Bruce Church
Dwight L. Clarke
Ted K. Clark
Mrs. Edmond D. Coblentz
W. R. Coe
George W. Cohen
Colbert Coldwell
Mrs. Isabel P. Collins
Mrs. Henria P. Compton
Peter Cook, Jr.
Arthur E. Corder
Frederick C. Cordes, M.D.
Miss Etta Cornell
Mrs. Talmage Burton Crane
Ralph H. Cross
Homer D. Crotty
Mrs. Arthur D. Curtner
J. R. Dalziel
Mrs. Blake Darling
Walter Darling
Mrs. Howard Derby
Arthur C. Devlin
Lloyd Dinkelspiel
Mrs. Hugh T. Dobbins
Washington Dodge
Miss Christine Donohoe
T. G. Douglas
Aubrey Drury
Henry F. Dutton
Stanly A. Easton
Mrs. Camille J. Ehrenfels
Amos W. Elliott
H. L. Ellis
Herbert Eloesser
Carl E. Erickson
Mrs. Milton H. Esberg
Edward E. Eyre
Francis P. Farquhar
James Farraher
Paul B. Fay
Frank L. Fenton
Mrs. Henry G. Fenton
Mrs. Marshal H. Fisher
Roland C. Foerster
B. A. Forsterer
Harlan D. Fowler
Mrs. Frank W. Fuller, Jr.
William A. Gannon
Ross H. Gast
W. T. George
Mrs. Morton R. Gibbons
Mrs. Guy Gilchrist
Mrs. Frank R. Girard
C. M. Goethe
Gordon D. Gollan
Hon. Louis E. Goodman
Albert H. Gorie

Sustaining Members (continued)

Mrs. Joseph T. Grace
Paul Grafe
Everett D. Graff
Daniel J. Grant, Jr.
John E. Grant
Donald M. Gregory
Mrs. Donald Gregory
Col. Allen Griffin
Berthold Guggenhime
Gordon G. Guiberson
Mrs. Horace Guittard
Edward T. Haas
Mrs. Edward F. Haas
Gordon G. Hair
Richard C. Ham
George L. Harding
Carroll T. Harris
Robert P. Hastings
Harold J. Havre
Mrs. A. L. Hawley, Jr.
Miss Lucy B. Heiskell
Edward H. Heller
Mrs. E. S. Heller
Mrs. I. W. Hellman, Jr.
Griffith Henshaw
George Herrington
George Hoberg
Mrs. C. H. Holbrook
Harold C. Holmes
Miss Marian O. Hooker
Warren R. Howell
James J. Hunter
William M. Irvine
J. B. S. Johnson
Otis R. Johnson
Willard W. Keith
Harold A. Kellogg
Mrs. Gerald D. Kennedy
Lawton R. Kennedy
Alexander King
Mrs. Robert C. Kirkwood
Joseph R. Knowland
William F. Knowland
Frederick J. Koster
Charles F. Lambert
Mrs. Charles F. Lambert
John H. Lawrence, M.D.
D. Ramsey Lawson
A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. W. J. Lindenberger
George D. Louderback
Harvey B. Lyon
Florence McAuliffe
Atholl McBean
Mrs. Atholl McBean
F. P. McCann
A. S. Macdonald
Col. Harold L. Mack
Garret McEnerney II
Mrs. Albert B. McKee
Rev. Thomas J. McKeon
J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
George M. Mardikian
Robert D. Marshall
Walter S. Martin
William Wallace Mein
John L. Merrill
Mrs. Stuart Middlemas
G. Willard Miller
Robert Watt Miller
Mrs. Maxwell C. Milton
Mrs. Randolph Huntington Miner
Mrs. Amy Requa Mitten
James K. Moffitt
Miss Frances M. Molera
Mrs. E. G. Montgomery
Mrs. Philip Morse
S. F. B. Morse
Dwight Murphy
M. C. Nathan
John Francis Neylan
E. R. Niemela
Jack Okell
Edwin Letts Oliver
Mrs. James R. Page
Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
T. M. Parks
Charles P. Partridge
T. S. Petersen
Mrs. H. D. Pillsbury
John E. Porter
Richard S. Rheem
Francis William Rubke
Stuart R. Rugg
San Mateo Public Library
Mrs. Thomas Schnoor
Addison Schuster
Frank Schwabacher
James H. Schwabacher
George A. Scott
Frank R. Seaver
Mrs. Eric G. Segerstrom
W. T. Sesnon, Jr.
Miss Helen Shafter
L. L. Shaw
A. T. Shine
Paul A. Sinsheimer
Howard D. Smith
Mrs. Antoinette Naglee Spruyt
Harvey E. Starr, M.D.
Walter A. Starr
Miss Lucy Ward Stebbins
Louis L. Stein, Jr.
Mrs. Sigmund Stern
Samuel S. Stevens
Thomas W. Streeter
J. F. Sullivan, Jr.
Benjamin H. Swig
Charles A. Tegner
Mrs. Helen Marye Thomas
Melville C. Threlkeld, Jr.
Mrs. Henry W. Toulmin
Mrs. Donald B. Tresidder
Jasper W. Tully
F. C. van Deinse
Capt. Frederic F. Wessell
Frank A. West
Carl I. Wheat
Mrs. Van Rensselaer Wilbur
Robert W. Williams
Mrs. George Osborne Wilson
P. G. Winnett
Mrs. Dean Witter
Miss Doris Marion Wright
Loyd Wright
Edward G. Zelinsky

MRS. EDNA MARTIN PARRATT, *Managing Director*
MISS GLADYS C. WICKSON, *Editor of the Quarterly*
JAMES DE T. ABAJIAN, *Librarian*
MRS. CORALIA REID, *Staff Assistant*
Office and Library: 456 MCALLISTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO 2

Lawton Kennedy, Printer
San Francisco

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

June 1953

California Historical Society Quarterly

Editor: GLADYS C. WICKSON

Editorial Advisory Committee: ALLEN L. CHICKERING, *Chairman;* MRS. ELIZABETH GRAY POTTER, *Assistant Chairman;* FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR, GEORGE L. HARDING, EDGAR M. KAHN, MISS ADELE OGDEN.

Vol. XXXII Contents for June 1953 No. 2

BOLTON OF CALIFORNIA 97
By Lawrence Kinnaird

SOME PHASES OF FRENCH SOCIETY IN SAN FRANCISCO IN THE 'FIFTIES 105
Appendix to the Journal of Ernest de Massey
Translated by Blanche Collet Wagner
With an Introduction by Henry R. Wagner

THE QUESTION OF RELIGION AND THE TAMING OF CALIFORNIA, 1849-1854 *(Concluded)* 119
By William Hanchett

M. S. LATHAM AND THE SENATORIAL CONTROVERSY OF 1857 145
By William F. Thompson, Jr.

CULTURAL DIGGINGS AT CRESCENT CITY IN THE 'FIFTIES 161
By Frances T. McBeth

NEWS OF THE SOCIETY

New Members 171
Book of Remembrance 172
Annual Report of the President 174
Annual Report of the Treasurer 177
Annual Report of the Librarian 179
Meetings 180
Gifts 185

RECENT CALIFORNIANA 188

MARGINALIA 190

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY is published in March, June, September, and December from the rooms of the Society at 456 McAllister Street, San Francisco 2, California, and distributed to members only. Extra copies and back numbers may be purchased by members at two dollars per copy (plus eight cents postage) with the exception of certain numbers which are very scarce or out of print. The QUARTERLY is entered as second-class matter at the Post Office, San Francisco, California. The entire contents are copyrighted, 1953, by the California Historical Society. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors. All correspondence should be addressed to the Society.

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON

On balcony outside his office, University of California

Courtesy of Mrs. Bolton

Bolton of California

By LAWRENCE KINNAIRD

THE LIFE of Herbert Eugene Bolton, California's noted historian, ended on January 30, 1953. It might be said to be difficult, as yet, to review his career critically; and there are those who say that it is doubly so for his former students, who have a warm personal affection for him. But certain facts we may state without emotion. Men of superb achievements do not have to die in order that their contemporaries may realize their stature. We had known for a long time that Bolton was great. Merely to list what he accomplished shows this.

Herbert Bolton came to California in 1909 to fill a professorship at Stanford University. His education and experience had been broad. As an undergraduate at the University of Wisconsin he studied under Frederick Jackson Turner in American history, Charles Homer Haskins in medieval history, and Richard T. Ely in economics. After graduating from Wisconsin, he won a Harrison fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania. Here, under the direction of John Bach McMaster, he secured the Ph.D. degree and also had the opportunity of studying under Edward P. Cheyney and Dana C. Munro. Few historians have had a finer array of teachers.

In 1901, the University of Texas appointed him to teach medieval history, but the nearness of the border in his consciousness and the sound of the Spanish tongue in his ears set up powerful countercurrents. He headed for Mexico – his first trip – in 1902, and that October the Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly* published his first article, "Some Materials for Southwestern History in the Archivo General de México." Thereafter he spent as much time as possible in Mexico, investigating ecclesiastical and secular archives and perfecting himself in Spanish.

Upon news of Bolton's abilities reaching Washington, D. C., the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology employed him to collect and synthesize Mexican materials bearing on the native tribes of Texas, at the time of their earliest contact with the Spaniards; when the bureau's 2-volume *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, edited by Frederick

Webb Hodge (Washington, D. C., 1907-10), made its appearance, there were found to be approximately 100 articles by Bolton on the Indian tribes of Texas and Louisiana. Some two decades later, Hodge, in Volume I, page xi, of *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (Los Angeles, 1932), made the following comment on Bolton's contributions to ethnology:

> No one has done so much as Herbert Eugene Bolton toward making available to the archaeologist and the ethnologist those early narratives which have proved so rich in information respecting the Indians. By delving into ancient archives and liberating the results of his tireless studies through many years, he has made students of the Indians of the Southwest his debtors to an extent which only they can appreciate.

In the meantime, Bolton had been selected (1907) by the Carnegie Institution of Washington to survey those materials in the Mexican archives that related to United States history. One full year plus many summers went into this monumental task, and it was while he was in the midst of it that he was called to Stanford University. The young historian shortly afterwards attracted the attention of Prof. Henry Morse Stephens, chairman of the history department of the University of California, who was on the lookout for men of promise to add to his staff. Stephens was also on the lookout for historical documents, and he considered the Stanford professor's collection of more than 65,000 pages of transcripts, made from manuscripts in Mexican archives, of prime importance.* As for Bolton himself, he realized the opportunities offered by a rapidly-growing state university and, in 1911, accepted a professorship. Berkeley became his home for the remainder of his life; he later declined the presidency of a large university rather than leave California.

From the time of his arrival in Berkeley until his death, Bolton was never without a research project, and his books came off the press with remarkable rapidity. First there was the fruit of his earlier work, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (1913). Then followed *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780* (2 vols., 1914); *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (1915); and *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (1916). In 1917, he wrote one of the notable essays of all time in American history, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies." It was delivered as a faculty research lecture and later published; and thereupon it took its place with that famous essay written by Frederick Jackson Turner on "The Significance of the American Frontier." Kino's *Historical Memoir of Primería Alta*, published in two volumes in 1919, showed that missionary endeavor on the Spanish frontier was still occupying Bolton's thoughts.

---

*It should be observed that Stephens was responsible for the acquisition by the University of California of Hubert Howe Bancroft's great historical library.

After the death of Henry Morse Stephens in 1919, the younger man became chairman of the history department, and continued in that office the following twenty years – called "the Bolton era in historical studies at the University of California," by George P. Hammond in Volume IX (Apr. 1953) of *The Americas*. The burdens of this administrative post were heavy in themselves, but, before Stephens' death, his successor had become director of the Bancroft Library and was engaged in building it into a research center for American history. Few university men have the competence or physical stamina to be successful administrators, teachers, and authors simultaneously. He did it by putting in twice the working-hours of an average man. If his students and associates could not follow his pace, that was not surprising – in spite of the fact that he gave them every encouragement.

At the same time, he was pioneering in a new trend of teaching. Most colleges and universities in this country offered courses in American history, organized only upon national lines. In fact, very few courses were being given which pertained to any part of the western hemisphere except the United States. Bolton substituted for that idea the necessity for knowledge of the New World as a whole, not as dismembered parts divided along national boundaries. H. H. Bancroft planned his series of histories so as to include political divisions of western America from Alaska south to Panama. But Bolton took in all the American nations, which, despite differences in language and customs, had shared similar experiences in their colonization, struggle for independence, and subsequent growth. Therefore the student should become familiar with the details of inter-continental as well as intra-continental histories. To make his position clear, he offered a course entitled "History of the Americas." The first day more than 1000 students applied for admission. By the time he retired, at least 20,000 students had taken the course. An astonishing fact is that, from its beginning in 1919, "History of the Americas" dealt with many of the topics which became widely publicized in the period of World War II; inter-American understanding, cultural and economic cooperation, demise of the Monroe

Doctrine, continental solidarity, and western hemisphere defense. Here and there in American colleges and universities, great teachers have developed great courses peculiarly their own. Such was the case with "History of the Americas."

Bolton's new and broader interpretations of American history attracted hundreds of graduate students. More than 300 men and women secured the M.A. degree in history under his guidance, and a large number still teach in high schools and junior colleges, where the name of Bolton is as familiar as that of Francis Parkman, author of *The Oregon Trail* (1849).

In the matter of advanced graduate research in history, more than 100 of Bolton's students have completed the requirements for the Ph.D. degree. The mere count constitutes a record; uncounted are the hours of consultation and the passing on of direction and purpose from professor to student. Candidates came from the United States and beyond – all the way from Chile to Canada – to be trained in his round-table† seminar and thenceforward to be known as historians of the "Bolton School." Although some have failed to outlive their great teacher, most of them are now holding positions in American colleges and universities.

While Bolton was doing magnificent work in teaching, he was also writing books and articles. His *Colonization of North America*, written in collaboration with Thomas Maitland Marshall and illustrating the international approach to history, was published in 1920. This was followed in 1921 by *The Spanish Borderlands*, a synthesis of a field largely his own creation. The recent appearance of the heading, "Borderlands," in a guide to historical writings, shows the amount of work done in this area since Bolton defined it.

As he passed fifty, he gained momentum in his research and writing: *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia* (1925); *The Debatable Land* (with Mary Ross, 1925); *Historical Memoirs of New California, by Fray Francisco Palou* (4 vols., 1926); *Palou and His Writings* (1926); *A Pacific Coast Pioneer* (1927); *Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774* (1927); *Anza's California Expeditions* (5 vols., 1930); *Outpost of Empire: The Story of the Founding of San Francisco* (1931); *The Padre on Horseback* (1932); *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (1936); *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (1949); and *Pageant in the Wilderness, the Story of the Escalante Ex-*

---

†Literally a round table, and now preserved as one of the university's relics.

pedition into the Interior Basin, 1776 (1950). Added to this list of books were scores of articles.

Even if you had never seen the man, you would know from his methods of research, alone, that he was possessed of a powerful physique and a trained endurance. Careful study of archives was followed by work in the field. He followed explorer, missionary, and settler step by step, locating landmark, campsite, Indian village, presidio, and settlement. It is doubtful whether any other historian has ever equaled his record for field work. He traced the routes of Coronado, Kino, de Mézières, Portolá, Anza, Garcés, and Escalante in their entirety. In some instances, he retraced portions of the routes several times. The detailed maps found in his volumes are the product of careful personal observation, and consequently his place in historical geography is unique. The remarkable thing is that, after all these thousands of miles on horseback or muleback, Bolton's zest for the trail remained undiminished, even to his eightieth year.

Duties of a public nature were part of the load he carried. From 1914 to 1916 he served on the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association, and aided the State of California, 1915-24, in making an historical survey. During 1933, he was connected in an advisory capacity with a study being made of historical American buildings; his advice was also on call with reference to the work of the National Park Service. In 1938, he traveled by plane to the Pan-American Conference at Lima, Peru; and he was in Santiago, Chile, the following year, conferring on intellectual cooperation. Two years later (1941), came an appointment to serve as delegate to the general assembly of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History at Lima. These are only a few examples taken from the long list of his public services. During his later years, he made contributions of his knowledge also to the cause of Junípero Serra's beatification.

In 1932, at the close of his presidency of the American Historical Association, Bolton addressed the meeting at Toronto on "The Epic of Greater America," a formal statement of the ideas that he had been placing before students for a decade in his "History of the Americas" course. In Latin America the Monroe Doctrine was dead, and it was "not a matter of indifference," he said, "to know that European influence in South America today [1932] far outweighs that of Saxon America, and that Europe is bending every effort to draw the Southern continent more and more into the European circle and away from its northern neighbors." (See *American Historical Review,* XXXVIII [April 1933], pp. 472-73.) Promoting a better understanding throughout the Americas was essential; to that end, good cultural and intellectual relations were as fundamental as good political relations.

During his first term of office, the demise of the Monroe Doctrine was recognized by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and his "Good Neighbor Policy" was gradually evolved. So important did the president consider it that he went personally to Buenos Aires to address the 1936 inter-American peace conference. A convention for the promotion of cultural relations was drafted at Buenos Aires, and, to implement it, our state department created the Division of Cultural Relations — later the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. Among the experts called upon to give advice was Herbert Bolton; he gave it in these words: "*Get acquainted* by every available means with the people, their language, their land, and their culture." He himself was beloved south of the border.

All this time Bolton's fame was spreading: ten colleges and universities of the United States and Canada granted him their highest honorary degrees; universities in Latin America gave him honorary membership on their faculties; he was made commander of the Royal Order of Isabella the Catholic in 1925 by the king of Spain; the government of Italy decorated him for his historical work on Father Kino; Pope Pius XII in 1949 named him Knight of St. Sylvestre in recognition of his contribution to the history of the Catholic church in New Spain. Twice Bolton won the gold medal of the Commonwealth Club of California for the best historical book of the year. For his book on Coronado, he received in 1949 the Whittlesey House southwestern fellowship award and one of the George Bancroft prizes granted by Columbia University. The Academy of Franciscan History in the same year conferred upon him the Serra Award of the Americas for his contributions to inter-American culture.

Bolton's students, as expressions of affection for El Jefe (The Chief), presented him with two cooperative publications: *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (see above), in honor of his presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1932; and *Greater America* (1945), after his retirement. A list of Bolton's own publications occupies twelve pages of *Greater America;* that of his students, 124 pages. These pages serve as a concrete index to Bolton's scholarship and to his influence as a teacher. His writing now has ended. The history of the Portolá expedition and the life of Father Garcés remain unfinished. But, as long as the writings of his students and of his students' students come from the presses, his influence lives.

California has had many distinguished historians, but Bolton surpassed them all in versatility, breadth of understanding, basic scholarship, and in influence upon students of history throughout the Americas. Other Californians have also left monumental works. Bolton alone has created a new school of historians.

Some Phases of French Society in San Francisco in the 'Fifties

Appendix to the Journal of Ernest de Massey

Translated by Blanche Collet Wagner

With an Introduction by Henry R. Wagner

Introduction. — Through exchange of letters in 1945, Charles L. Camp was fortunate enough to discover in the hands of the daughter of Ernest de Massey a number of manuscripts relating to her father's visit to California. These comprise a journal of his voyage and stay in the country and an Appendix to an account of his experiences in San Francisco after his return from the mines in August 1850 to as late as 1857, when he returned to France. This Appendix was written in 1884, from notes made when he was in San Francisco, according to his own statement.

A few months after de Massey's arrival in San Francisco in 1849 he decided to go to the mines, as just at that time there was a rush to the Trinity River country. He took passage on the ship *Hector* on April 3, 1850, and arrived in a bay twenty miles long on the eighteenth. This bay, of which he did not know the name, was Humboldt Bay. He refers to the founding of three towns on the bay, Humboldt, Eureka and Union Town. Starting out from Trinidad on April 25 with a few companions he reached the Trinity River on May 2. This he called "The River of Thieves," because of the propensity of the Hupa Indians whom they here encountered.

A full account of his trials and tribulations in the mines was published in *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush, the Journal of Ernest de Massey, Argonaut of 1849,* which first appeared in the Quarterly of the California Historical Society, Volume V (1926) and in Volume VI (1927). It was also published separately as California Historical Society Special Publication No. 2, San Francisco, 1927, and was a translation by Margaret Eyer Wilbur of a part of a copy of the journal in the Los Angeles Public Library, with a "Foreword" by Dr. Charles L. Camp, who, no doubt through his connections with this work, afterward discovered that the original documents were in France.

Ernest de Massey was born at Passevant in eastern France near the Swiss border on June 1, 1811. He has very little to say in his various writings about his early life but does mention his failure in two business operations in his native town. With the little money he had left, he decided to go to California as he had heard of the gold discoveries there. He sailed from Le Havre on May 21, 1849. After carefully looking over the lengthy journal of his experiences during the voyage, it does not seem advisable to have it translated and published. The brig *Cérès,* which carried him and some thirty other Frenchmen, sailed on the accustomed route around Cape Horn and arrived in Callao on October 3. She remained there until October 31, arriving in San Francisco on December 14. His journal continues until his return to France in 1857.

The Appendix consists of about seventeen stiff-paper pages, of which eleven are closely written in ink in a small hand. Newspaper clippings, a map and lithographs are pasted to the remainder. The newspaper clippings are specimens of the first French newspaper issued in San Francisco, *La Gazette Republicaine,* September 20, 1850, perhaps the only one extant, as well as some articles written by de Massey himself in *The Public Balance.* They cover the period from February 1, 1851, to March 6, 1851.

During this time he edited a column in French for the benefit of the French colony. Most of the columns consist of brief paragraphs concerning events in the French colony which are of so little importance that they are not reproduced in the following translation of the main Appendix. A map by J. J. Jarvis [*sic*], lithographed in Boston in 1849 and with manuscript additions by de Massey (evidently added the following year), is in Dr. Camp's collection.

In his "Foreword" to *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush,* Dr. Camp spoke of the impossibility of checking the accuracy of all de Massey's comments on the character of the persons he mentions in his Journal: verification could be safely left "to the best judgment of the future." The same policy has been followed here, in publishing the de Massey Appendix.

APPENDIX

TO THE NARRATIVE OF THE ADVENTURES OF THE FRENCH ARGONAUTS WHO ARE SEEKING THE GOLDEN FLEECE IN CALIFORNIA IN THE XIXTH CENTURY

Franco-California Silhouettes — Extracts from the first French newspapers published in San Francisco in 1850-1851, and the author's correspondence during those years.

Also notes, maps, lithographs, a birdseye view of San Francisco, the authentic history and everything which is characteristic of the people of the country and which will give the reader a true idea of their customs, art, literature, commerce, agriculture, and mining industry, which were very primitive in 1849 when California was invaded and colonized by people from all over the world. These also show the great progress which has been made from that time to 1884, the year these notes were assembled.

Langres 1884
Haute-Marne, France

Before I record the history of San Francisco during the last seven years of my residence there, when I settled down after my adventures, I think it wise to present some extracts from French newspapers which had been published there previously. This will make it easier to understand the references which I make to them and to other sources.

I did not become interested in the general events of this country until 1851, when I began writing a column in the French language in a daily newspaper, *The Public Balance.* When I returned from the Trinity mines, however (Trinidad, August 1850), I found another newspaper was being published, *La Gazette Republicaine.* Mr. Hoogs, a Canadian, was editor in chief, and S. Ancelin, a Frenchman from the Seine-Inférieure, was his assistant. I include here an extract from that newspaper of September 21, 1850, which may be the only one in existence. It contains an interesting review by Mirandol, a very clever writer. This article will be found at the end of my manuscript. I suggest it, as well as the other articles appended to this work, be read by all who are interested in the mores of that time. This was the first French newspaper in California. It was printed in normal format and appeared three times a week. It was edited in a dignified and sufficiently literary style but did not prosper. There were not enough subscribers and too few advertisements. It was in existence for only six weeks.

I tried my luck with *The Public Balance*, but without success; Ancelin was trying his with *The Daily True Standard.* It lasted two months until a fire ruined our backers and both of us were forced to seek our fortunes elsewhere. Mr. J. B. Finance then made serious offers to me for a partnership of some kind. I hesitated to risk my small amount of money with a partner as crude as J. B. Finance, who had no education, cleverness or judgment, and who at this time offered me only complete freedom of action, his obedience, his manual work, and a small capital, equal only to mine. I had received several other offers of the same kind for the use of my capital but with different objectives. An unknown artist from Mirecourt, who had no talent or manners, and who was an absinthe drinker, had, of necessity, become a house painter. It was very lucrative work at the time because of so many fires and wooden buildings. But alas! He was penniless, without self respect, and had a brutal face with a red nose. These were too many defects to give me value for my capital and these were the reasons that made me refuse a partnership with Mr. Benedict, the artist.

About the same time another offer was made to me by a certain Samuel (no other name than this Biblical one). He was supposed to be a mechanical engineer from Le Havre. He was a hairy Hercules whose face bore the signs of Bacchus. He had come to California on the boat, [*St.*] *Joseph,* with a man named Liebert, who was a lieutenant. They had landed here on account of the desertion of the sailors. They came to me with the proposal to buy a small steamer for two thousand Francs, which was all I had. They would take charge of the repairs and exploitation and they would split the profits with me.

I did not wish to put my small capital in a nut shell which could founder any day. This business would earn good profits but Samuel did not inspire much confidence in me while Liebert appeared very young for such an enterprise. He was inexperienced, although intelligent, very active, and a brother of the General Liebert (who had died in Algeria after he retired in 1884). I refused all participation in this affair.

They finally found another less prudent partner, a Mr. Vincent Quintin, who was known in California only under the name of Vincent.* Why? Because he had failed in Paris, like so many others. However, he had saved some remnants of a cheap stock of office supplies. With money loaned by the government in Paris and entrusted to him, he had some silent partners, workers or employees, according to the style of the time.

---

*V. Q. was a light, haughty . . . man, who drank too much and worked little. His subordinate position galled him, and after two years he asked to retire. He then joined . . ., a competitor of my establishment. Three years later he considered himself rich enough. He returned to France with only 15,000 Francs. He had

The affairs of the little steamer were so badly conducted that after a month she was sunk, not in the shallows of the bay, but in the capital, in the bars where the whisky, the gin and the sirens are the most dreaded reefs. Samuel will never straighten out; he will end up in some filibuster's expedition. So far as Vincent Quintin goes, he will never be a dependable man.

After this venture he started a brick kiln (adobe) with Mr. Boudrye, who had received his education at the University of France. But he failed again. Then, at the end of his resources, and at his reiterated insistence, I admitted him to partnership under the same conditions as those of J. B. Finance, making use of his knowledge as a cardboard-maker, book-stitcher and binder in the establishment I had just created and which was beginning to prosper.

Finance had advanced his entire capital. A. Liebert, however, who was young, intelligent, energetic and enterprising, after having tried mining, established a photography studio and made a fortune.**

The ship, *Saint Joseph*, which had deposited Liebert on the coast of California, besides other persons mentioned above, also brought some actors and actresses at the same time. They were Eleonore, Adalbert and Racine, three rather mature artistes from Paris. They had small talent but reigned for some time on the stage and in their boudoirs by means of their savoir faire, their orderly minds, their successful use of cosmetics, the glow of the footlights, and the rarity of the French feminine element in circulation. They were the directors of the French Theater. They played vaudeville, small comedies, drama, and even little operettas once a week on Sunday before an audience made up of all nationalities, and this was more than sufficient to attract to them a great many platonic admirers who were both sympathetic and especially generous.

---

married a pretty little Belgian . . . who died after one year. He married again in France. He became a commission agent for a bookseller but could not get along with his wife. . . . His children, Alice and Gustave are excellent people. The daughter is a music teacher in the Paris city schools, and the son is an engineer with a good position.

**In 1880, Liebert had the foremost photography studio in Paris. It was on the Rue de Londres.

They were wonderfully assisted by Alexander Munie, a haughty talented handsome young actor who finished his career in Paris in Vaudeville in 1880. His wife, a young and pretty brown-haired girl, played gracefully and charmingly the rôles of the sweethearts and the maids. Bonnet and Thierry also had some talent, but Munie, the elder, and his wife, who had suffered financial failures, were poor actors and singers. Cabetius, Roncoviery, Laglaise, and others were pitifully poor actors and singers, which did not prevent the three actress directors from picking up sufficient capital in a few years to enable them to return to France and live there in a fine bourgeois style and in what was undoubtedly an exemplary manner.

At that time the vogue was such that a flock of actors, actresses, singers, acrobats, and circus riders fell on San Francisco like birds of prey on a battlefield. There was pasture for all, especially for the women, who came from all the parts of the globe. Another plague was the tribe of gamblers (bankers, croupiers, brokers of the gambling houses) of all ages and both sexes, of all extractions, nationalities, and few moral scruples. Authorized by law, they would steal in one night the entire hoard of even the most sharp and cunning miners who had just returned from the placers.

I shall speak only of the French who adopted this trade, one which is not much respected but is very lucrative. I do not mean that all were terribly crooked, but these people for the most part flattered themselves on the dupes they had made. I always avoided them as well as their schemes, and they were also placed in quarantine, so to speak, by all those people who did not put gold above everything.

They had an easy life, night work, no intelligence needed, and no conscience whatever. They could be sure of their profits if they were not possessed by the demon of gambling, which would make them lose to smarter cronies the money won from imbeciles. Everyone needs a vocation, although not everyone has that of getting rich at the expense of others, without risks and by means which honesty abhors.

The most notorious person of this group, head and shoulders above the others, was certainly Monsieur Baroilhet (the brother of Paul, the distinguished baritone of the Opera from 1839 to 1847, and later Professor of Voice at the Conservatory in Paris). He was an amateur artist and a collector of modern paintings. In San Francisco he owned the establishment known as "La Polka," and his partner, whose name was Cavière, had been a Hercules in a troupe of acrobats at New Orleans.

In a few years they made a considerable fortune, in spite of the fires and their passion for gambling which, sometimes in a few hours, made them lose the profits of several days' winnings in their gambling house. This establishment was organized on a large scale with quite a good deal of luxury. There was an orchestra with male and female singers and women in décolleté, who distributed drinks. The manager of the establishment rented to some associations of croupiers the places at the gaming tables in the principal room, which held at least ten of these. These places cost from $25 to $200. The manager furnished only the location, the light, and the orchestra.

The independent professional gamblers and the dupes they could bring with them gambled in the parlors, which were rented by the evening at much higher prices. From eight in the evening to two in the morning, the main room and the private parlors were never empty. The persevering players spent their nights there. In the morning, croupiers, lucky players, and those who had lost all, would take a rest, and in the afternoon there were very few around the tables. In the afternoon there were only some idle miners, picking up women, some players hiding in corners, and agents of gambling banks who made two or three dollars a day playing with the money of the bank – very small fry.

There was a man by the name of Taperin among the bankers of the second group, an ex-salesman of silks from Lyon, who must have been burning the candle at both ends and lived a great life in his youth and prosperity. He was a small, thin, puny, bald, deaf . . . gluttonous . . . man, an old completely ruined beau, who was nothing but the shadow of what he claimed to have been. He was, however, always impeccably dressed and still had some pretensions with the women. It seemed to me that he had lost much of his gilded plumage by rubbing . . . against the hoops of their crinolines, then in vogue, and especially against those of a ravishing . . . English woman, a Mrs. Howard, the lady of the heart or of the club of Prince President Napoleon. At least this was said to be the case by E. Moreau, the brother of the Magistrate and stock broker of this name. He should have known, because, when he was employed at the Elysée, he had carried the messages of love or interest between Paris and London. It was on one of these embassies, with a twofold purpose, that E. Moreau was captured by the great beauty of a young English miss, an attendant of the great lady. He took her away from her mistress and came to California with her.

Moreau had very little capital, as he had lost his position and his powerful patrons, and was disowned by his family as a foolish prodigal son, which he was. Thus the two lovers came to be stranded on the shores of California, abandoned and without resources. For several years Moreau looked for some means of support but could not find anything. No one ever saw his charming companion anywhere. Taperin helped him with some of his capital. He lost the money. At this time Taperin was just about the only man who had entrée to their home. He did not seem to fret unduly over his loss.

This nice couple presented themselves as husband and wife and everybody took them at their word. Their bad luck was deplored but when the truth became known many lost interest in this irregular marriage, as they said, "If one had no means to keep a wife, it is more honest to do without than take the money from the purse of others to give oneself this luxury." Everybody made remarks and the bad tongues wagged. They could not understand that a young, intelligent and beautiful woman in good health could live comfortably without any apparent fortune, only debts, so that the creditor's capital was lost, and she did nothing whatever to replace it. Perhaps the couple had some mysterious resources, but if so, what were they?

I only learned the details during the last year of my sojourn in San Francisco. Toward 1854, Moreau succeeded in obtaining a good position. He had become manager of the very popular French paper, *L'Echo du Pacifique*, of which Derbec was the owner and founder. Moreau was also the cashier, the salesman for advertisements, and sometimes the editor, as he was well educated, clever, and very energetic. He also was very aggressive.

As a bookseller and importer of books and newspapers from all the countries my store was well located, so it was frequented by all the most intelligent and well educated people, writers, artists, and clever speakers. It was here that the journalists and reporters gathered from eight to eleven at night to learn the news of the town, a new joke and the gossip of the day. During these few hours the store became a salon of most animated and gay conversation. Everything was discussed—politics, religion, business, literature, the sciences, beaux arts, and the theater, without ever a word which was discordant with the general tone of propriety, and never a sour note to mar the harmony which prevailed in this improvised circle.

The sales and receipts were just as good during this time, due to my salesman, Louis Gregoire, who was intelligent, devoted, attentive and polite. He was a great help to me. At these meetings I became better acquainted with Mr. Moreau, who graciously invited me to his cottage. I went on a Sunday to visit him. He introduced me to his companion whose real name I did not know. I greeted her as Madame Moreau, having no proof to the contrary. They urged me to stay for a while together with Derbec, the newspaper reporter, and Taperin, Moreau's friend and creditor. I was curious to study this so discreet and isolated household, especially its feminine part, about whom I had heard so much, particularly about her great beauty. It was true and not exaggerated. She was one of the most gracious types of Englishwomen. Her face was a perfect oval, just as I had heard it praised so often for its rare beauty. Her skin was roseate, with lips naturally carmine, very gentle blue eyes, transparent skin, light auburn hair, white teeth, well developed shoulders and bust, but not excessively so, long waist, well-shaped hands and aristocratic feet, a lovely sweet melodious voice, a modest appearance, all went to make her a beautiful woman. She was well dressed, without being affected, always polite and gracious in her manner. She understood French, and I replied in French, for fear of answering something wrong, wanting to give her a compliment. Nothing in her conversation could lead anyone to think she would say anything vulgar, and her gaiety did not surpass what is permitted in the best society. It was in this way that I was introduced to their ménage and our relationship lasted for several years. She was always cordial, obliging and polite. Some people said, nevertheless, that Moreau went out alone in society and did not present his wife because he was jealous. This reason did not appear conclusive. He often met with Mr. Dillon and Mr. Gauthier, who succeeded him. The two were married, and had children. Madame Moreau never went to the French consulate. I heard some very disagreeable comments about this. Hints of that kind are usually disguised calumnies and my curiosity was not quenched. In foreign countries one must know thoroughly the men with whom one is thrown into frequent contact. It is necessary and at the same time a great problem for someone who does not wish to mingle with unworthy people.

It was only in 1857 that finally, after great diligence and persistence, and with the help of highly placed and very devoted friends, I obtained proof that the Moreau couple was not married. There was always the possibility, in that household where I was so well received, that I might have allowed myself to feel like a member of the family. This I would doubtless later have had to regret.

Taperin, until his departure for France in 1856, was a more or less frequent habitual guest of the Moreaus. Was it to regain part of his lost capital? He had obtained it as owner of a roulette wheel in a faro bank, which he gave up when his fortune was made. He had not, however, anticipated the exigencies entailed by his friendship. When he returned to France to reside in Lyon, he must have been as shorn of his capital as he was decrepit in his person.

So far as Moreau was concerned, he kept on good terms with his employer, Derbec, until 1860. Then they began to fall out, the former accusing the latter of attempting to seduce his wife, while Derbec retaliated by accusing him of extortion. However, both backed away from a scandal or an expensive lawsuit whose outcome would be most uncertain. Soon afterward the young couple embarked for England and took up residence there. Did Moreau regularize his position? I do not know. All I could learn was that through his family or friends, or perhaps the help of Miss Howard, the government appointed him Counselor of the French Chancellory in London and Napoleon III decorated him. But Derbec has a story of his own, and a short adventurous one.

Prote, writing in 1849 for the newspaper *Les Debats*, which was much respected by the Bertin brothers, says Derbec went to California and to the mines. In a few months he found a nice fortune, chartered a cargo boat and went to the Sandwich Islands, where he bought the native products for a cargo. The date was fixed for the departure of the loaded vessel. Derbec went down to speak to the captain the day before the scheduled sailing, only to learn that the boat was gone; the captain had sailed away on the previous evening leaving Derbec behind on land. This filibuster sold the cargo in San Francisco and left that place for unknown shores. A month later Derbec arrived in San Francisco and learned that he was ruined. He went back to the mines, fell ill, and came back to town, where the consul, Dillon, took care of him until he recuperated, as he was so highly recommended by the Bertin brothers. Mr. Dillon advanced him money to establish a newspaper. Derbec was its editor, overseer, manager and typographer. For nearly ten years *L'Echo du Pacifique*, which had started so modestly, was ably managed in a careful way, with ability and economy. It was so well administered that its circulation increased greatly. It was the first and foremost organ of the French population for news on the Pacific coast. It made a fat profit for its owner of from 250,000 to 400,000 Francs a year.

When the war of secession and the war with Mexico were started, the French newspaper revealed its sympathy for the Southern States and for success of French arms in Mexico. In these opinions it was only following those of the majority of the readers. The Americans saw this polemic with distaste. Some fanatics rioted against the newspaper and the journalists, and sacked the printing plant, the editorial quarters and the business office. Only by chance did Derbec escape the noose they had brought for him. In this assault he lost the fruits of his ten years of hard work, at least 400,000 Francs.

The paper had been stopped by the law of force, and justice had not intervened. The town offered a ridiculous sum of money as reparations and that was all. Derbec, ruined again, went to the mines. The paper appeared after a time under the name of one of the employees of the editorial staff with a new masthead, as *Courrier de San Francisco*. Some friends furnished the necessary capital and the manager and owner were the same, although he remained in the background. The paper became prosperous, but Derbec, disgusted with his newspaper attempt, wanted to go into the mining business again, which was the main craze in San Francisco. He found a gold deposit of nuggets whose value was widely praised. He had to open a mountain and had to sell shares, totaling the sum of 5,000,000 Francs, selling each share at 500 Francs. After gigantic labors for twelve years, the mine did not produce anything and most of the shareholders were ruined, along with Derbec. Thus, this intelligent worker and honest man, who was such a capable newspaper editor but rather an ambitious speculator, is now in unfortunate circumstances, reduced to poverty after having handled millions and several times having made an enviable fortune.

In 1885, he had only a very small interest in his newspaper, which is still prosperous and which, if he had been able to keep it, would have brought him a large income. He was unmarried and is now about sixty-five years old (1885). The fruit of his thirty-five years of work and services, rendered to the French consul and to his compatriots, consists of the cross of the Legion of Honor, which was conferred upon him by Napoleon III.

Another curious type of a roulette croupier was Mr. Lepreux, who had been counsellor of the court of Amiens. He failed, I do not know how or why, on the shores of California. He was a tall man with distinguished features and grand manners. He had a great mind, was an agreeable speaker, caustic and very polite. He was fifty or sixty years old and lived simply with his wife, his daughter, and son-in-law, paying as little attention as he could to his fellow players of the red and black, of trente et quarante, and baccarat. It was evident that he was aware of being out of place as he pronounced with majesty the necessary formula "Faites vos jeux. Le jeu est fait, rien ne va plus." In this degrading work he had amassed in two years a fair-sized capital which enabled him to retire, but he wanted to raise great quantities of rabbits, which he thought would produce an income of three thousand dollars a year. Two years later, rabbits, high income and capital, all had disappeared. He came back then as editor of *L'Echo du Pacifique* where his fine, gay and honest writing was appreciated by the educated people and those with good sense. He walked with erect gait and had a distinguished appearance. In the solitude in which he seemed to wish to confine himself he could be taken for a misanthrope, but in reality he was a very congenial man. I shall pass over the end of his life.

The opposite of Mr. Lepreux was Toussaint, a roué and chevalier of the roulette wheel, an ex-manufacturer of textiles, and mayor and deputy of his precinct. He was ugly . . . pretentious, . . . and only went into taverns . . . seeking oblivion and losing himself by playing the money of his bank. Had he not been sent back home either by some of his friends who had charitable impulses or by his family, he would have had a sad end. His son came to San Francisco to join him and was a piano professor. He was a good musician and had good conduct. He must have been ashamed at the disreputable appearance of his father.

Another silhouette, and then I will be through. . . . This one is of Sieur Tassin, Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur, ex-engineer of geography of the French government, commissioned in the Orient. He seemed to do his work with honesty. He was in haste to leave his business which must have been repugnant to him. Very ingratiating, pleasant and polite, he would have been better suited to a drawing room than to a gambling house. He made a fortune and went away. In 1860 I met him on the street in Paris. He was then a "big" Monsieur Tassin. If I had met him in a drawing room his face would have shown much more embarrassment, as I do not believe he advertised his ability at the green-covered table where the nuggets were easier to gather than they were in the mines.

I will pass over silently the small trash of the gamblers' tribe, Gauls, Americans, Chileans, Mexicans, Peruvians, people usually with fictitious names, sometimes without nationality and mostly without morality.

They exploited the innocent miners at roulette, faro, trente et quarante, bouillotte, twenty-one, and with loaded dice, nor did they hesitate to make use of well-devised crooked roulette wheels and the passions of the bad women of all countries.

One of these (whom I never knew and whose name escapes me), a Canadian, was for nearly two years the lion of the town, the favorite of Lady Luck and of the best looking of the lady sinners. He was eighteen (what precocity!), well built, almost without a moustache, an Adonis of the north, elegant, prodigal, agreeable and robust. He arranged his bank so well, in the house where he had been set up, that every night he made from $100 to $1,000 clear profit. It was great; but was it well acquired gold? No one knows or even attempts to question it. Foresight is not a characteristic of his age. He spent as much as he earned on an apartment, fine horses, coach, mistresses, fancies, orgies, follies of every sort, and he had the health to stand it all, so that it lasted for two years. But the day came when perhaps a more skillful croupier cut his luck or a mistress cut the thread of his life to take his money, or perhaps it was suicide or murder, despair or crime. At any rate he disappeared. No one claimed his inheritance; he may not have had any family or any more fortune. Thus the end came to this unknown twenty year old, too lucky at winning, maybe too clever, too precocious, and, to judge by his self assurance and his polite manners, he did not come from a proletarian family. Those who profited by his prodigalities, the tradesmen, parasites and foolish virgins, may have regretted him, but not his dupes.

In addition to the eccentric persons just described, there were among the gamblers some notaries, industrialists, bankers, manufacturers, businessmen, and victims of periodic revolutions, misled, ruined, incapable, or disdainful of manual labor, who sometimes under a false name looked for a temporary easy job. Then in the lowest caste were the false players who were playing for pay, who brought in the dupes. For two dollars an evening they served as "come-ons" to attract the clientele, and at the expense of the bank offered stimulants to the timid. There were at least one thousand of this category, all out of their class, lazy, drunkards, and even worse. Among them was a Baron de Morcou, a very debauched man, a Count of Campora, a Piedmontese officer . . . Victor Jules of France, son of a millionaire, H. D., whose family belonged to the personnel of the Banque de France, a winner of the Grand Prize awarded by the Universities of Paris, and tutti quanti, cheaters and companions of all the debauchers, the felons, thieves, and bankrupts of the civilized world. All these men, living on the money of the public women, were very often in accord with the police and authorities of the time. These "risk-it-alls" caused the creation of the first Vigilance Committee and brought about armed conflicts. These were the illegal consequences, but absolutely necessary, and brought public opinion on the side of the Vigilantes.

Women also figured among these people devoid of honesty even in name. It was noticed also that among the most shameless ones was the Countess of Campora, wife of the Piedmontese officer, who had been deprived of his rank and of whom I spoke before. She was a pseudo Lola Montez, seated like a queen at the counter of her Café restaurant. . . . She was the Flower Queen, whose beautiful efflorescence had been the joy and admiration of Chile for many years. But she had imposed on California her too ripe fruits which, although deteriorated, commanded fabulous prices. At that time, from 1849 to 1852, I never knew of a woman who could procure such a large income by abusing her sex.

. . . .

This little story of mores would not be complete if I did not say something about the exceptions among the women employed in the gambling houses and concert restaurants. For instance, Madame Huserne, wife of an architect, now an engineer in charge of the works on the Isthmus of Panama (1885), used to operate a dice game in 1851. She only did this to make a living until her husband could find work. She was a simple, honest woman and so was Madame Planel, the wife of a distinguished violinist and who, herself, sang very agreeably. The slanderers have never touched these two women.

The Question of Religion and the Taming of California, 1849-1854

By William Hanchett

(Concluded)

PROTESTANT INTER-CHURCH COOPERATION

At first, the common sharing of discomforts and hardships, and the common anxiety for the religious welfare of the Argonauts, brought the missionaries into frequent and cordial contact with each other. In San Francisco in 1849, the Protestant clergymen held regular Monday-morning meetings, to pray for each other and their various churches and to make plans for the counteraction of sin and the relief of suffering. Among the projects to emerge from these meetings were the San Francisco Seamen's Friend Society and the Benevolent, or Stranger's Friend Society, which gave help to the sick and destitute during the winter of 1849-50.[36] With the exception of the Episcopalians, who were friendly enough in social life but did not fraternize in ecclesiastical matters, the ministers also assisted each other in baptismal and dedicatory ceremonies.[37]

Especially in the mining towns was it obvious that the objectives of the Protestants could best be advanced if the churches worked closely with each other. There was little reason why sectarian ties should be emphasized. "One well-supported church in a community unable to support two," declared an editorial in the *Pacific*, "is beyond comparison better than a couple or more of feeble, half-supported, beggarly enterprises."[38] Where godlessness appeared unlimited, there was little need to compete for souls, and cooperation between the Protestant denominations was sometimes very close. In addition to participating in special services and ceremonies, the ministers frequently combined to sponsor temperance meetings; they offered their pulpits to traveling ministers of whatever denomination, and threw open their doors to newly-organized congregations which had not yet built a church of their own.

But, despite their many cooperative efforts and their devotion to the same ideals, the Protestants preserved a high degree of denominational loyalty. Desperate pleas to home-mission societies for more missionaries reflect a genuine concern about the irreligious nature of El Dorado, but they also reflect a genuine alarm, that, if more missionaries did not arrive, the field would be appropriated by another denomination. To neglect missionary opportunities on the Pacific coast, declared the committee on the far west of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, "... will result in loss to ourselves as a denomination."[39] "Where is the Episcopal missionary spirit?" asked a church member from San Francisco, after noting the progress made in California by other churches.[40] "You cannot imagine how important it is," explained Isaac Owen to J. P. Durbin, corresponding secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society,

> to be first in this country. The people will build a church for the first denomination that comes along – And the second [will] have twice the trouble to build the first have.[41]

Nine months later, in a letter to Bishop Ames of Indianapolis, Owen added:

> If I only had the right sort of men and the number asked for [twenty-five], the country would be ours. Other denominations are very jealous of us, and are doing what they can to keep up with us; this is all right; give us the men and the blessing of God, and they will have the pleasure of trying[,] for years to come.[42]

One of Owen's greatest concerns was that his church would not keep pace with the activities of the Southern Methodists. Methodism had been divided over the slavery issue at the general conference of 1844, and relations between the two branches of the church had become increasingly strained.[43] In California, the Methodists resented and feared the presence of their brothers from the South. In addition to suspecting that the Southern Methodists proposed to introduce slavery into the state, at least into the southern half,[44] the Methodists discovered that the Southern Methodists were potentially serious competitors in the erection of churches. It would be a blow to the prestige of the northern church if the southern should surpass it in influence in free California.

In response to urgent warnings from Owen, the Methodist Missionary Society intensified its efforts to strengthen the position of the northern branch. It had been the policy of the society to move slowly in California, to use the men available to form churches in important towns, while letting the less important towns wait until they could be served without weakening the others.[45] In a confidential letter to Owen, J. P. Durbin announced a reversal of policy:

> . . . since (*private*) [*sic*] our Southern Brethren have manifested such a vigorous determination & such prompt action to take a commanding position in a free State, we are inclined to alter our advice to you; and do now alter it. We advise you to obtain lots in eligible situations in all towns that you can with a view to building on them as early as practicable. Get good large lots.[46]

Against the charges that they planned to introduce slavery into California, the Southern Methodists continually explained that despite their name they were really not a sectional church, and that they sought to advance no political interest. Organized as a result of the agitation of a political issue, and because of a belief that, deep down, men wanted a church ". . . wholly religious" and ". . . unspotted from the world," the Methodist-Episcopal Church, South, had simply followed thousands of its own members to California. The world was its parish.[47]

An episode involving a minister who took the alias of W. H. Long suggests the suspicion with which the Southern Methodists were regarded, their protestations of innocence of political intrigue notwithstanding. Long, who at one time had been a Congregational minister, sought and received full connection with the Southern Methodists at the Pacific Annual Conference of 1852. At the very next conference, in April 1853, he was expelled for ". . . unministerial and unchristian conduct. . . ."[48] Several months before, however, he had withdrawn from the church, giving as his reasons that the Southern Methodists tolerated Sabbath-breakers and showed insufficient interest in the growth of their church.[49]

Early in the 1860's, Long made another attempt to join the Pacific Annual Conference, this time under his real name, W. H. Ives. When he was recognized and the earlier experience recalled, he confessed, according to the Southern-Methodist minister and historian present at the scene, that he had been sent out as a spy by certain northern groups, who were afraid that the presence of the southern church was a precursor to the introduction of slavery.[50] "We were misrepresented and misunderstood almost everywhere," wrote John C. Simmons.[51]

PROTESTANT-CATHOLIC RELATIONS

Although before 1855 the Catholics directed their major efforts to the southern and coastal areas of the state rather than to the gold mines, they were as apprehensive about losing ground to the Protestants as the Protestants were about losing it to each other. Catholic prospects in

California were very good, wrote Michael Accolti to his father-general in Oregon, but "If we do not move in this matter, the Protestant ministers . . . [will] appropriate all the Catholic youth."[52] Gonzales Rubio informed the superior-general of the Picpus Fathers in Paris, that if more priests did not come to California, ". . . the infidels will yet remain in the shadow of paganism, Christian piety will grow cold and disappear, and the Protestants will occupy our churches, deserted now, for the most part. . . ."[53]

The Catholic church in California, wrote Archbishop Alemany in 1884, ". . . did not have to face the prejudice which it encountered elsewhere. The elements which formed to combine the civilization of the Pacific Coast made respect and tolerance for all doctrines and beliefs necessary."[54]

The Protestant ministers in San Francisco in 1849 accepted the Catholic priests as allies in a common cause. Old-School Presbyterian Albert Williams thought that Father Anthony Langlois was unsophisticated, but was grateful that he was earnest and always willing to cooperate in efforts to improve public morals.[55] John L. Ver Mehr, rector of Grace Episcopal Church, talked with some Jesuit priests and concluded that ". . . though somewhat at variance with me as to the means, their aim was apparently the same."[56] O. P. Fitzgerald, a Southern Methodist, was enthusiastic about Michael Accolti:

> His features were large, his head massive, his expression one of benignity, illuminated with frequent flashes of good humor. There was also about him a something that suggested that he had suffered. I fell in love with Father Accolti. . . .[57]

Yet, even in irreligious, cosmopolitan California, Protestant attitudes toward the Catholics reflected the nativist thinking prominent in other parts of the United States in the 1850's. The resurgence of the Catholic church in California caused great alarm, both because it drew its support from unpopular foreign groups and because it was the church of Rome.[58] The Protestants, furthermore, were exasperated that the priests showed less interest than themselves in the reform of vices like drinking and gambling. A correspondent of the *Pacific* thought that "*some earnest* preaching," on the part of the priests, "about 'sin, righteousness and judgment to come'" would be of benefit to the "poor souls" of the Argonauts.[59]

Perhaps the most frequent Protestant-Catholic conflicts occurred over the public schools and the passing out of religious literature. Frederick Buel, lay agent of the American Bible Society in California and ordained an Old-School Presbyterian minister in San Francisco in 1850, formed an interdenominational Bible Society in San Francisco in October 1849.[60] One of the purposes of this society, which soon established branches in the mines, was to distribute translations of the Bible and religious tracts among the foreign miners. The Chinese, the Spaniards, the French, the Mexicans, said the Baptists' *Pacific Banner,* had come to a land "... where the word of God is *free.*"[61]

The San Francisco Bible Society recorded in 1851 its heartfelt pleasure in giving the Bible to ". . . those long debarred from the precious Word of God by the . . . exercise of priestly power. . . ."[62] By 1853, however, the circulation of foreign-language scriptures, especially those in Spanish, had declined, partly because so many had previously been given out, and partly, thought Buel, because the priests had been successful in keeping their people from reading them.[63] When Isaac B. Fish was distributing free tracts among the miners in Calaveras County, he met an Irishman who refused to accept the literature because, as a Catholic, he was not allowed to read it. "O, what bigotry," exclaimed Fish, "what bondage!"[64]

Sectarian exclusiveness between Protestants and Catholics, and among the Protestants themselves, was not peculiar to California. But it led to the creation of some churches too weak to exert a beneficent moral influence on mining communities badly in need of such an influence, and preserved an allegiance to sect for which there seems to have been less justification in the young society of the gold rush than elsewhere. Yet, interchurch rivalry had been an important factor in the missionary invasion of California in the first place. Whatever undesirable effects competition may have had are, in a measure, outweighed by the fact that the competition was expressed in terms of more missionaries, more churches, and redoubled efforts to bring order and stability to the mines.

II. CHURCHES AS COMMUNITY CENTERS

It would be impossible to speak of the churches in the mother-lode country in 1849 as "community centers," not only because there were no formal churches in the mines that year, but because the communities were not such as would have had a church for a center. The society of the forty-niners was overwhelmingly male and individualistic; communal action, when taken, was likely to be improvised and impulsive and concerned with the immediate problems of mining law. So long as men could hope to become wealthy through their own digging, they asked of the community only the protection necessary to dig. By 1850, when they began to learn that there were not enough fortunes to go around, they used the community to reduce the competition by handicapping unpopular foreigners. When they were forced by the middle 1850's to give up the dream of riches and become day laborers, when they began to think less in terms of *returning to* their families and more in terms of *being joined by* them, when they began to think of California not as an adventure but as a career, only then did the churches have a chance to become community centers. When the treasure hunters became homemakers, the center of gravity moved away from the saloon — an important community center — toward the church.

If the churches were not *the* community center — that is, the institution around which the social life of the community chiefly revolved — they became very clearly *a* center, and certainly the center of community order and morality. It is necessary to except the Catholic churches, both because they had not proclaimed the Blue Law Gospel, which was the heart of nineteenth-century Protestant morality, and because, as the churches of the Irish, the French, and especially the Latin Americans, they were largely set apart from the dominant in-group of United States Protestants.

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE

It was well for the Protestant churches of the mother-lode country that church membership was not an accurate index of church influence. Most of the churches had pathetically few members. Amid ". . . bitter opposition and abounding iniquity . . .,"[65] James Pierpont organized a Presbyterian church of eleven charter members in Placerville in the spring of 1853.[66] In February 1854, the membership had only grown to twenty-one, and, of these, ten were no longer residents of the town.[67] Sixteen primary and secondary Methodist churches in the mines reported at the annual conference of 1854 a total of 524 members, or an average of about thirty-five each. Placerville, the largest church, reported seventy members; Coloma, the smallest, listed eight.[68] At Grass Valley in 1854 there were only fifteen members in J. G. Hale's Congregational church, but attendance at Sunday service averaged between fifty and seventy-five.[69]

In general, a disparity between church membership and church attendance may be assumed. Even though, by 1852, El Dorado was far from the restless place it had been in 1849, its population was not yet stable, as the ghosts of towns deserted in the late 1850's and 1860's still attest. The fact that people did not feel settled enough to join a church did not stop some of them from attending one. In Sonora there were only thirty members in Silas S. Harmon's Presbyterian church, but the congregations averaged about 100 and had twice been forced to seek larger quarters. According to an informant of William I. Kip, the Episcopalian missionary bishop, the aggregate congregation of the four Nevada City Protestant churches was around 500 in 1854,[70] although someone else thought any one of the churches could hold the normal congregations of all.[71]

Attendance at church may be assumed to have varied with the season and with the popularity of the individual minister. Nevertheless it seems likely that, as a rule, about two or three times as many people attended a given church as belonged to it.

THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN

It is the affiliation of women, who had a high scarcity-value in El Dorado, rather than the statistics of church membership and attendance, which makes it possible to speak of the churches as community centers. Among the homesick, sex-starved Argonauts there was no greater object of attention and deference than a respectable woman. Stories of the veneration shown by miners toward miscellaneous articles of female clothing have become familiar parts of gold-rush folk-lore,[72] the stories being used to prove that the Argonauts, for all their drinking and gambling, were not such bad fellows after all. While there were plenty of women in California who made the most, economically, of the disproportion of the sexes, women deserving of public respect were almost certain to get it.

Shirley, living with her husband in Rich Bar in the northern mines, was sure that there was more swearing in that virile community than in any other in the world – at least she heard more of it through the thin walls of her hotel. But "Of course," she added, "the most vulgar blackguard will abstain from swearing in the *presence* of a lady. . . ."[73] World traveler Ida Pfeiffer thought that California men were true gentlemen in most respects. One and all, they showed "the utmost attention and politeness to our sex," she wrote after her trip to the Yuba River mines in 1853. "Old or young, rich or poor, well or ill dressed, every woman was treated with respect and kindness."[74]

The wives of Protestant missionaries were among the first respectable women to enter the mines. Mrs. Warren was the only feminine member of her husband's Congregational church in Nevada City during its first year;[75] and, even as late as 1853, the wife of a minister in Grass Valley had to fight off with a hot iron the advances of a drunken miner, who had mistaken her for a prostitute named Fanny.[76] But this was an incident which could have happened anywhere. The wives of the pioneer missionaries were assets to their husbands, not only, as one of them put it, "... by quiet fireside helpfulness and cooperation in outside plans,"[77] but because their presence in the mines made it possible to hold up before homeless miners the edifying spectacle of a home.

The beneficent moral effects of women on mining society were not lost to contemporaries. California was the finest country in all the world, Seth Smith wrote his father. "Women is [*sic*] all that is needed."[78] Elisha Crosby observed that as women and children became more common, men were reminded of home and began to take pains in the way they dressed and to act like gentlemen.[79] So far as the improvement of society was concerned, wrote a miner to the *Pacific*, "One true, pure woman is worth a volume of sermons. . . ."[80] The entrance of respectable women into the mines signaled the exit of the fortune-hunter psychology of 1849, and helped bring about the orderly social conditions necessary for the survival of churches. The active support of women guaranteed not only that the churches would survive, but that they would play a prominent role in community life.

CHURCH SOCIALS

There is a story that when a minister in Grass Valley publicly suggested that the residence of the internationally-famous Lola Montez was not raising the moral standards of the town, Lola forthwith performed one of her most suggestive dances on the minister's front lawn. Later, perhaps ashamed for having so-well proved his point, she sent the minister a large contribution for his church.[81]

Women, indeed, were among the most effective money-raisers for church causes. Albert Williams, pastor of a Presbyterian (Old School) church in San Francisco, claimed that the fair, held by the ladies of his congregation in December 1850, was the first church fair in California.[82] At any rate, the institution spread quickly into the mines, where a whole series of fairs and festivals raised money for new churches, paid off the debts on old ones, purchased bells, and built parsonages.[83]

Mrs. Lewis C. Gunn, wife of the editor of the Sonora *Herald* and a member of Silas S. Harmon's Presbyterian church, helped hold a festival in December 1853, to pay off the debt on the Methodist church. Mrs. Deal, wife of the Methodist minister, called on her one afternoon to make the arrangements. She herself was going to make 100 pies, and

Sister Grove had pledged a bushel of cookies. Would Mrs. Gunn make some bread and cakes? On the day of the festival, the church building was decorated with evergreen branches and red berries, and an ample supply of good food was on hand, including $50 to $60 worth contributed by the local grocers. The Christmas spirit prevailed. Mrs. Gunn's cakes sold for as high as $3 apiece, and altogether the festival brought in between $300 and $400 for the church.[84]

Six-hundred dollars was raised at a festival for the benefit of the Methodist church in Columbia. Ministers of three different denominations made speeches, and, of the food served, one miner wrote, "Our friends at home would hardly believe such a meal could be spread in the Mountains of California."[85] Charles Ferguson, who mined near Nevada City in the early 1850's, remembered years later that though bargains were hard to find at church fairs, the smiles from the women were plentiful and compensatory.[86] If he had wished, Ferguson could have had his fill of church benefits. He could have gone to the Methodist church fair late in the summer of 1851.[87] A few weeks later he could have heard a quartet singing "Near the Lake," and a solo performance on the flute, at a public concert for the same beneficiary.[88] The following February he could have bought a dollar ticket – or ten of them – to the three-day ladies' festival, which netted the Congregational church $1600 clear profit.[89]

THE CHURCHES AND EDUCATION IN THE MINES

Outside of the Protestant and Catholic churches, ". . . there was little general interest in the establishment of an educational system in California."[90] In fact, so many students were attending church-sponsored schools that the state legislature in 1853 allowed the schools to share in public funds on a *pro rata* basis, provided only that the teachers pass an examination and receive a public certificate.[91] This law, which had been personally urged by Archbishop Alemany,[92] was widely condemned as pro-Catholic by Protestants opposed to the principle of publicly financed parochial schools, and in 1855 it was superseded by an act which provided that no sectarian school could receive public money.[93]

Presumably the English and Classical High School, opened in Oakland by a former Baptist missionary, Francis Prevaux, met the conditions of this law. The school, according to one of its printed announcements, was independent of ". . . any and all sectarian bias." Constant attention, however, would be ". . . given to a wholesome moral and religious influence," and attendance at devotional exercises and at a weekly church service was required.[94]

Until educational institutions were firmly established in San Francisco and the other major cities, there was no official move to establish them in the mining and agricultural areas.[95] Consequently, education in the mother-lode country was even more the responsibility of the churches than elsewhere in the state. In some mining towns there were no schools at all;[96] in others, none but those run by ministers,[97] or the wives of ministers, miners, or of storekeepers.[98] The first school in Jackson, for example, was kept by a Mrs. Trowbridge and met in the secondary church organized in 1853 by Isaac B. Fish;[99] and an early Catholic resident of Columbia attended the school which Mrs. Silas S. Harmon of the Presbyterian church held at her home.[100] There were no high schools in the mother-lode country during the 1850's.[101] Even if the grade schools were imperfectly non-sectarian, they were at least better than no schools whatever.

For the existence of Sunday schools, the churches felt as great an obligation as for weekday schools. If the children "*. . . are not converted while children, they will probably be lost*," asserted the mission society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[102] Under the leadership of Isaac Owen, the self-educated backwoods preacher who had taught himself to read the Testaments in their original Greek, and who had shipped to San Francisco $2000 worth of books, mostly productions of the Methodist Book Concern,[103] the Methodists did not neglect the religious education of their children. At the California annual conference in February 1854, fourteen mother-lode country Methodist churches reported a total of 662 Sunday school scholars, and religious libraries containing an aggregate of 2950 volumes.[104]

There were seventy-five students between the ages of four and eighteen in John C. Simmons' Southern-Methodist Sunday school in Grass Valley. A Sunday school exhibition filled the church. A twelve-year old girl had memorized 938 verses; a boy, 920; another, 865. One child, unable to read, memorized twenty-two verses, and the whole school had committed to memory a total of exactly 4,351.[105] Sunday school celebrations were popular in Columbia too, where the children recited, sang, and received premiums before standing-room-only audiences.[106]

Nor were efforts lacking for the religious education of adults. Largely as a result of the efforts of ". . . that scholarly, saintly man, Frederick Buel,"[107] agent of ". . . that glorious institution, the American Bible Society,"[108] auxiliary Bible societies were organized in the principal mining towns from the far north to Sonora.[109] Perhaps, like the San Francisco Bible Society, they displayed their literature in the secular bookstores where they might catch the eyes of passersby.[110] The local societies were interdenominational; they held meetings in various Protestant churches, and formed common plans for the salvation of souls.[111] At a meeting of the Nevada County Bible Society, held in the Methodist church, Nevada City, the secretary, James H. Warren of the Congregational church, reported that the society had accomplished much good among the Spanish and Chinese the past year. Two hundred dollars was raised at the meeting.[112] The money was no doubt to be used for the free distribution of religious literature to those unable to pay for it, a practice followed by the San Francisco Bible Society.[113]

THE LYCEUMS

The Protestant churches played a central role in the community lyceums, which served as public forums and centers of adult education in California mining towns, as they did in thousands of communities all over the United States.

The constitution for the lyceum in Sonora was drawn up in 1852 by Lewis C. Gunn, the newspaper editor, who later drew up a creed for Silas S. Harmon's church, satisfactory to both its Presbyterian and Congregational members.[114] Plans for the lyceum, which met in the Masonic Hall, included the presentation of semi-monthly lectures, weekly debates, and the formation of a library and reading-room.[115] That its members took the proceedings seriously is attested by a crisis, brought about in the Presbyterian church by one of its discussions. The question was, "Does the Bible enjoin capital punishment?"[116] the Rev. Mr. Harmon arguing in the affirmative and winning the debate.[117] From his editor's column, Gunn rebutted. He denied that the Biblical doctrine of "a tooth for a tooth" made capital punishment compulsory for murder, and referred to Christian injunctions to mercy and forgiveness. Capital punishment might or might not be practiced, he said, but it was not a religious duty.[118] Gunn and his family felt so strongly about the question that they transferred their membership to the Methodist church.[119] Harmon was pro-Southern, anyway, wrote Mrs. Gunn, although he had claimed to be an abolitionist,[120] and he wasn't ". . . an interesting preacher, not at all original."[121]

Although he had lost one of Sonora's leading families, it is possible that Harmon was not too displeased, for the feud with Gunn had apparently been of long standing. In August 1853, a few months after his arrival, Harmon blamed Gunn's opposition to the proposed location of the Presbyterian church for his failure to have it erected. Gunn refused to sign a subscription paper, and was trying to persuade his friends to start another church, of what denomination it didn't seem to matter.[122]

While it may be supposed that few lyceum debates led to such splendid quarrels, they seem to have been arranged with a view to inviting disputation. At Grass Valley, where the lyceum met in John C. Simmons' Southern-Methodist church,[123] the explosive issue of the immediate annexation of Cuba was discussed,[124] followed in a few months by the question, "Do the causes which tend to the dissolution of the Union outweigh those that contribute to its perpetuity?"[125] Almost equally controversial were such non-political subjects as "Ladies' legal rights," and "Resolved, that marriage should be a civil contract, and may be annulled by the mutual consent of [the] parties interested."[126] The justification of attempts to exclude Asiatics from working in the mines was debated by the lyceum meeting in the Methodist church in Columbia;[127] and in Sonora the Reverends Harmon and Evans, the latter of the Southern-Methodist church, participated in a debate about excluding the foreign-born from public office. At this meeting ". . . a large auditory was present."[128]

Ministers were frequent lecturers as well as debaters. The Rev. Mr. William Speer of the San Francisco Chinese Mission (Presbyterian), lectured at the Nevada City Congregational church in September 1853 on the future of China,[129] and he spoke in the Masonic Hall, Grass Valley, a week later.[130] Lectures on public education were common.[131] The versatile Silas S. Harmon, having purchased a set of astronomical plates, each about four feet square and ". . . beautifully executed," announced that he would give a series of lectures on astronomy to raise money for the Presbyterian church.[132] Before a group of young men in Sonora in 1854, the Rev. Mr. Morris Evans delivered an intriguing lecture, about which nothing can be learned except that desirable effects were anticipated from the discussion of ". . . such a matter as the one in question."[133]

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

There was no problem on which the ministers lectured with such earnestness and such complete assurance of divine approbation as the liquor problem. The work of redeeming the drunkard, declared the *Pacific Banner*, was next in importance to the salvation of souls.[134] When Isaac B. Fish wrote that the alarming extent of drunkenness was ". . . the greatest obstacle to moral improvement" in Mokelumne Hill,[135] he meant that liquor was the greatest ally of sin. Since the renunciation of sin was requisite to salvation, the crusade against Demon Rum was undertaken with the conviction that it would not only bring about social reforms, but that it would lead to the wholesale salvation of souls. Temperance – it was, in reality, abstinence – would thus lead directly to a new era on earth and to a new life in heaven.

The prohibitory liquor law, passed by the state of Maine in 1851, signaled the fact that the greatest of the new Blue Laws was to be enforced through the power of the political state. A Maine law for California became the central theme of hundreds of sermons and lectures. At Columbia a typical temperance meeting was held in the Methodist church in December 1853; temperance songs were sung, and a petition for a Maine law was circulated. Temperance men were urged to "... Rally! Rally! Rally!"[136] In Nevada City a series of four temperance lectures was given at the Methodist church by the Rev. David A. Dryden. Dryden's subjects were: 1. Intoxicating drinks are not proper beverages for men. 2. Liquor leads to the destruction of its consumer. 3. The liquor traffic must cease; the ballot is the proper weapon. 4. Objections to prohibitory measures answered.[137]

A woman temperance lecturer – who may have been Miss Sarah Pellet, as she lectured on "A Probihitory Liquor Law for California" in many mining towns during 1854 and 1855[138] – gave a talk in Weaverville from atop a pile of boxes in front of the hotel. "The saloons and stores were deserted," said one report. "No dog fight ever drew together such a crowd."[139]

THE SONS OF TEMPERANCE

But, as the vital core of the Blue Law Gospel, temperance promotion was not dependent upon occasional lectures and sermons. In the "Sons of Temperance" organization it was united with a genuine fraternal impulse. Originating in Teetotalers Hall, New York City, in 1842, the Sons of Temperance soon counted its members by the tens of thousands. The first division in California was organized in San Francisco, September 30, 1850,[140] and soon there were chapters in towns all over the state. Local divisions were open to males over fourteen years of age, who would sign a pledge[141] similar to the one taken by members of the society in Sonora: "We do hereby promise to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, and by all prudent means to discourage the use of it by others, and [to] employ our efforts for their reform."[142] Officers of local divisions – worthy patriarch, worthy associate, etc. – were elected every three months. Passwords, ceremonies, cards, regalia, and the order of business to be followed at meetings, were prescribed by the national division. One regular item of business, which, as seems clear went far to explain the great success of the order, was the reporting of whether or not any brother was without employment.[143]

There was a close relationship between the Protestant churches and the Sons of Temperance. The Columbia Sons celebrated Washington's birthday in 1853 with a parade, led through town by a brass band and terminating at the Methodist church, where orations were given by the Reverends Moore and Gibbons of the Southern-Methodist and the Methodist churches, and where the prayers were led by David Deal, pastor of the Methodist church in Sonora.[144] The following December, new officers of the division were installed in a public ceremony at the Southern-Methodist church. The Reverend Harmon, the Presbyterian from Sonora, gave the address.[145] An hour before the ceremony was to begin, the church was crowded with men and women, twenty-one of whom, including four women, signed the pledge before they left. By January 7, 1854, there was a total of 143 pledged abstainers in Columbia and nearby Springfield; a year before, scarcely one could have been found.[146]

In April, the Columbia Sons began the erection of their own Temperance Hall, a modest structure costing less than $1000, but from a fountain in its center gushed a stream of sparkling water. The hall was open for weekly meetings late in May 1854.[147]

The Snowy Mountain Division of the Sons of Temperance, Grass Valley, celebrated its first anniversary in March 1853, with a meeting in the Masonic Hall. Three Methodist ministers spoke and prayed before an audience which included forty or fifty ladies. "I was forcibly struck," a visitor wrote to the Baptist newspaper, the *Pacific Banner*, "with the intelligence, refinement, and thorough gentility of the company."[148] At nearby Nevada City, the Sons marched through the streets to the Methodist church, where a group of women presented them with a Bible. After the ceremony, which crowded the church to the doorstep, there was a dinner and dancing. "Bacchus," it was later reported, "is not needed even in California to give a happy hilarity to such social gatherings."[149]

The most active promoter of the Sons of Temperance in the mines was Israel S. Diehl, who was given an appointment at their annual conference by the Methodists,[150] probably in 1853. Diehl organized local divisions in various parts of the state, including such churchless mining-camps as Iowa Hill, Michigan City, and Yankee Jims,[151] and in 1853 was elected grand chaplain of the grand division of the California Sons of Temperance, the highest division of the order in the state.[152] But because he was apparently more interested in temperance work than in the other duties of the ministry, and because he was ". . . a man of considerable eccentricity," Diehl's membership in the Methodist annual conference was discontinued in 1857.[153]

The results of the plebiscite, taken in September 1855 to test public opinion on a prohibitory liquor law for California, showed a large majority of the people of the state opposed to such a law (*against:* 26,695; *for:* 20,831); but, in the mother-lode country, a small majority (*against:* 11,231; *for:* 11,611) in favor of it.[154] While this variance may in part be explained as traditional discord between predominantly urban and predominantly rural areas, it also suggests the important role in the life of the mining communities played by the Sons of Temperance, who, it appears, got out the vote; and by the churches, chiefly Methodist, from which the Sons drew so much of their strength. And certainly the results of the election indicate that some phases of the "Days of Forty-nine" had passed.

VIGILANTES AND CHURCHES

Vigilance committees, though they sometimes travestied justice, were conceived of as instruments for order, as means by which society could protect itself against the anti-social. As such, they were given wholehearted support by the churches, at least the Protestant churches. Shortly after the great San Francisco fire of May 1851, believed to have been of incendiary origin, Samuel H. Willey observed that society could not exist without law, but that law was worthless unless it were enforced.[155] A few days later, Timothy Dwight Hunt insisted that, in the absence of a government capable of enforcing the laws, the people had a right to protect themselves by taking vigilante action;[156] but, of more importance, the people should work for good government and pay more attention to the laws of God. Punishment for the violation of divine laws regarding Sabbath observance, profanity, and the like, was somewhat delayed, "... but it is *sure. God executes His laws* — He has a prison, from which there is no escape. . . ."[157]

Benjamin Brierly declared that the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1856 was no mob, ". . . but men falling back upon rights older than legislatures and courts. . . ."[158] His fellow Baptist, Francis Prevaux, believed that,

> . . . good, great good . . . will be the result. We have long needed a revolution. We are now in the midst of it. The Vigilance Committee is made up of many of our best men – the overwhelming part of our population are [*sic*] with them in sympathy. . . . We rejoice in what is going on, though we regret that there should be cause for such measures.[159]

In Downieville in 1855, William C. Pond, a missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, won the title "Mob-Law Minister" for his public statement that citizens were ". . . entitled to the protection of the law, through its prescribed forms, by all means, if possible, but in any event . . ." entitled to its protection.[160] After making a comprehensive study of contemporary newspapers, one student cautiously concludes that the Protestant church ". . . was a principal supporter of the vigilance movement in California."[161]

Isaac B. Fish was twice present at the execution of sentences by "Judge Lynch" in Mokelumne Hill. In one case, a man who had stolen $820 was given fifty lashes on his bare back, and was warned to be out of town within twenty-four hours. It was a hard punishment, thought Fish, but justified because the civil authorities would not act.[162] Six weeks later, in April 1852, he watched the "unpleasant" hanging of a Mexican for stealing $700. Whether the increased severity of the sentence for a lesser crime was a pure manifestation of racial prejudice, or whether it represented a supreme effort by the committee to frighten the lawless, Fish does not say. Even though he was ". . . in hopes that cases of robery [*sic*] will be less frequent hereafter,"[163] the two incidents illustrate that the medicine of vigilante action could be about as dangerous as the disease it was supposed to cure.

The most notable exceptions to the Protestant endorsement of extra-legal justice were William A. Scott, pastor of Calvary Presbyterian church in San Francisco, and the Southern Methodists generally. Scott's opposition to the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1856 reached a climax in the hanging of his effigy from a lamp-post in front of his church.[164] The Southern Methodists remained largely faithful to their principle of abstention from political affairs. When one of their ministers cooperated with a vigilance committee in Stockton, to the extent of reading, at a mass meeting, a telegram telling of the extra-legal execution of two criminals, ". . . he lost his influence over many in whom he was most interested."[165]

As a part of their clerical duties, both ministers and priests brought the last-minute comforts of religion to men about to be executed, whether by vigilance committees or lawfully by the state.[166] In July 1852, Isaac B. Fish was a frequent visitor at the county jail in Mokelumne Hill, where he wrote letters and prayed for a convicted murderer. On the morning of the latter's execution, Fish, in company with the sheriff, marched to the gallows with the condemned man. There, because the prisoner blamed liquor for his crime, Fish lectured the audience on temperance. Then the trap was sprung.[167]

If it seems inevitable that the talk, given on sex to the young men of Sonora by the Reverend Morris Evans, was excessively moralistic; if it seems that the Columbia lyceum's answer to the question, "Is dueling an honorable mode of settling individual disputes?"[168] had already been begged; if it seems unfortunate that ministers were not more cautious in their endorsement of vigilante justice, and, for the sake of the man about to be hanged, Fish had picked so tasteless a time to point out the depths to which a man could fall because of alcohol — one can only remark, too obviously perhaps, that some of the values of the mid-nineteenth century were not those of the mid-twentieth. The Protestant churches were community centers in the California mines, in the sense that they reflected and championed the interests of the dominant members of their communities.

III. CONCLUSION

The successful resistance of the Chinese to attempts by the missionaries to convert them to Christianity suggests the impossibility of giving a religion to anyone who is not already in a receptive mood. It may, then, be seriously doubted that the American missionary was responsible for giving Christianity to his California countrymen who had turned their backs on it and had, as William Taylor believed, ". . . relapsed into heathenism."[169] Actually, the Christian religion was taken to El Dorado by the overwhelming majority of non-Oriental Argonauts as part of their cultural equipment. Like their snowshoes in summer and their long-toms in winter, it was packed away until they felt a need for it.

With few exceptions, riches in heaven seemed insignificant to the fortune-hunters of 1849. They listened in large numbers and with grave respect to itinerant preachers, but religion was more a sentimental tie with home than anything else. As an organized social force it was as out of place among the fortune-hunters of 1849 as riches would be in heaven.

By 1851, however, the fortune-hunter was being replaced by the wage-earner. Californians began to dig into their cultural resources and to pan-out, among other things, local governments, common schools, fraternal lodges, and Christian churches. Because a church is a socio-religious organization, living in, and not apart from, society, the expression of religious feelings, through formally organized Christian churches, became possible in California only as California became more like the society which had propagated Christianity. Aware of this fact, and that their work was dependent upon it, the Protestant missionaries conscientiously endeavored to speed California's evolution from El Dorado to New England. It was his objective, exclaimed Timothy Dwight Hunt, who had rushed from Hawaii to become chaplain of San Francisco in 1848 and who was then pastor of a Congregational church, to ". . . make CALIFORNIA the MASSACHUSETTS of the PACIFIC."[170]

The fact was, of course, that California was a great deal unlike Massachusetts – as, a century later, it still is. The application in California, therefore, of the moral values of New England led to an exaggerated idea of California's wickedness and godlessness. In 1855, William Taylor entered a small town in the mines, and, asking to talk to a Christian, was referred to the blacksmith. This man and his family *looked* like Christians, but they worked on the Sabbath. Things were so bad that Taylor traveled a full week before he could find other, even-so imperfect Christians.[171]

Apparently it never occurred to Taylor and his Protestant colleagues that the definition of a Christian could be anything but fixed, or that the tenets of the Blue Law Gospel were not moral absolutes, universally applicable. To compromise with them, to attach less significance to Sabbath-breaking in California than in New England, would be to compromise on truth, to betray God, to sell out to the adversary. The missionaries were in California to bring salvation, and they knew, with the rigid certainty of those who speak for the cosmos, that there was only one way to save souls.

One Sunday morning in January 1852, Isaac B. Fish spoke about the evils of Sabbath-breaking to his Mokelumne Hill congregation. ". . . I had very clear conceptions of Divine truth," he noted in his diary, "and [was] enabled to bring it to bear so forcibly that I knew good was accomplished."[172] He was no doubt correct, but did he realize that he was preaching Sabbath-observance to Sabbath-observers? Did he realize that he was preaching the Blue Law Gospel to people who had already accepted it? For it was as inevitably true that the people who attended church service were, from the social point of view, those least in need of warnings against sin, as it was true that those who attended Sons of Temperance meetings were the ones who needed least to be told to stop drinking. The churches had the greatest social influence over those least in need of it, and the least influence over those, by the churches' own standards, most in need of it — the "heathen" Chinese and the "heathen" fortune-hunters.

The Chinese persisted in their own religion, and, casual as their observance of it seemed to be, there was nothing which exerted greater influence over their lives.[173] A good many of the occidental fortune-hunters ceased to be heathen about the time they ceased to hunt fortunes. At this time, it was easy and natural for them to turn to the religious, as well as to the economic and political, institutions with which they were already familiar. It is true that even in 1849 miners paused to worship; it would have been strange if some of them had not.

But it is difficult to imagine that organized, institutionalized religion could have found the community support necessary to survival in a land composed exclusively of individuals hoping to find a fortune under every rock. The presence of churches is an indication of the presence of men who were reconciled to working for a living, and who were no longer driven by the dream of sudden wealth and a triumphal return home. The conclusion seems inescapable, therefore, that the churches, far from taming the California frontier, were themselves signs that the frontier was already becoming tame. Their presence or absence, and whether they were well- or ill-supported by their communities, can be taken as a kind of measure of the extent to which the taming had progressed.

But the churches were by no means only passive symptoms of the advance of order and civilization; they accelerated and publicized the advance.

The promulgation of the Blue Law Gospel, and the passage of such things as anti-Sabbath-breaking laws even when they were premature, must have had some effect — if only that of publicity — in bringing about desired social improvements. Vigorous promotion of schools and colleges was certainly a signal contribution to the refinement of California society, as was the support given to temperance organizations, community lyceums, and fraternal lodges. In some towns, especially in the mother-lode country, churches were the chief, if not the only, institutions to which those men and women who longed for sobriety could turn.

Silas S. Harmon tells of one miner, a young man from Connecticut, who, shocked by the wickedness he saw everywhere in California, rebelled at the thought of sinking into the multitude. "In my own strength," he told Harmon, "I saw nothing but ruin. . . . I felt the need of shelter from the seductive but corrupting influences around me."[174] He found this sanctuary in the Sonora Presbyterian church.

Except that they did not proclaim the Blue Law Gospel, the Catholic missionaries in El Dorado played a role among Catholics similar to that played by Protestant missionaries among Protestants. Ministering chiefly to foreigners — to Latin Americans and Frenchmen in the southern mines, to Irishmen in the northern — the priests were less social reformers than spiritual shepherds. But in California towns at that time, Protestants from the United States were the dominant in-group, and Catholic clergymen and churches were thus outside the main avenue of communal activity.

The lesson to be learned from the evolution of order in the mining towns, according to Josiah Royce, is not that the Anglo-Americans demonstrated their instinctive talent for self-government,

> . . . but that the moral elasticity of our people is so great, their social vitality so marvelous, that a community of Americans could sin as fearfully as, in the early years, the mining communities did sin, and could yet live to purify itself within so short a time, not by a revolution, but by a simple progress from social foolishness to social steadfastness.[175]

While it would be a gross mistake to judge the gold rush by what the Christian missionaries *said* about it, no factual treatment of the period can omit consideration of what they *did* about it as crusaders for order and morality.

NOTES

36. Albert Williams, *A Pioneer Pastorate and Times, Embodying Contemporary Local Transactions and Events* (San Francisco, 1879), pp. 63-64; Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 57; Osgood Church Wheeler, *The Story of Early Baptist History in California* (Sacramento, 1889), p. 29.

38. *Pacific*, April 2, 1852.

39. *Twenty-second An. Rept.*, Am. Baptist Home Mis. Soc. (New York, 1854), p. 70.

40. *Spirit of Missions*, XVII (Oct. 1852), 331.

41. Owen to Durbin, Oct. 27, 1851, Owen Papers.

42. Owen to E. R. Ames, July 28, 1852, *ibid.*

43. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (New York, 1939), pp. 436-39.

44. *See* Owen to Dr. M. Simpson, Feb. 5, 1852, Owen Papers; and *Calif. Christian Advocate*, May 20, 1852.

45. Durbin to Owen, Jan. 13, 1852, Owen Papers.

46. *Ibid.*

47. J. C. Simmons, *The History of Southern Methodism on the Pacific Coast* (Nashville, 1886), pp. 15-16, 109-10.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61, 114-15.

49. *Calif. Christian Advocate*, July 29, 1852.

50. Simmons, *History . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62. Long, or Ives, served the Southern-Methodist church in Columbia in 1852. There are some anecdotes, flattering to him, in G. Ezra Dane, *Ghost Town* (New York, 1941), pp. 278-86.

51. Simmons, *op. cit.*, p. 110. In San Francisco, William A. Scott, of Calvary Presbyterian [Old-School] church, and once minister in the chapel at Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, felt he was being discriminated against because he was from Tennessee. *See* his *My Residence in and Departure from California* (Paris, France, 1861), p. 2.

52. Letter of Feb. 29, 1850, as quoted in Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), II, 405. Accolti was also concerned that the Jesuits act quickly, so as not to lose ground to the Picpus fathers, *ibid.*, p. 409.

53. As quoted in John B. McGloin, "Plea for More Priests in California in 1849," *St. Ignatius Church Calendar*, San Francisco, Feb. 1949, pp. 66-67. *See also* by same: "The Jesuit Arrival in San Francisco in 1849," this QUARTERLY, June 1950, pp. 139-47.

54. As quoted in Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

55. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

56. John L. Ver Mehr, *Checkered Life: in the Old and New World* (San Francisco, 1877), p. 359.

57. O. P. Fitzgerald, *California Sketches* (Nashville, 1880), p. 145.

58. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

59. *Pacific*, June 18, 1852. (Italics in original.)

60. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57; *Am. & For. Church Union*, March 1850, pp. 134-35.

61. *Pacific Banner*, Oct. 30, 1852. (Italics in original.) The editor of this paper was the Baptist missionary, O. C. Wheeler. The Baptists did not affiliate with the San Francisco Bible Society.

62. *Thirty-sixth An. Rept.*, Am. Bible Soc. (New York, 1852), II, 740.

63. *Thirty-eighth An. Rept.* of same (1854), III, 65.

64. Fish, *op. cit.*, July 17, 1852, II, 16.

65. *Home Missionary*, XXVII (June 1854), 47.

66. "Church Record" (manuscript in possession of Federated Church of Placerville).

67. James Pierpont to American Home Missionary Society, Feb. 13, 1854 (microfilm copy of manuscript in AHMS Papers).

68. "Minutes," First An. Meeting, Members of the Oregon & California Mission Conference Stationed in the California District, Aug. 13-15, 1851 (manuscript, Archives, Hist. Soc. of Calif.-Nev. An. Conf., Methodist Church, Berkeley), p. 60; contains minutes of conferences up to 1861; hereafter cited as Methodist Minutes, MS).

69. *Pacific*, Nov. 3, 1854.

70. William Ingraham Kip, *The Early Days of My Episcopate* (New York, 1892), pp. 144-45. The four churches were Congregational, Methodist, Southern Methodist, and Baptist.

71. *Pacific*, Sept. 22, 1854.

72. Some of the stories are given in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1888), VI, 232-35.

73. Louise Amelia Knapp Clappe, *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851-1852*, ed. by Carl I. Wheat (New York, 1949), p. 49. (Italics in original.)

74. [Ida Pfeiffer], *A Lady's Visit to California, 1853* (Oakland, 1950), p. 24.

75. John Sessions, "Observations in California During 1855," *Quarterly*, Soc. Calif. Pioneers (March 1928), 23.

76. Nevada *Journal*, Aug. 26, 1853.

77. Ellen Green Briggs, *Our Frontier Ministers' Wives* (San Francisco [?]: privately printed, 1908). Mrs. Briggs was the wife of the Methodist missionary, Martin C. Briggs. *See* Rockwell D. Hunt, "Martin C. Briggs, 'Methodist Trumpeter' of California," this QUARTERLY, March 1952, pp. 1-11.

78. Seth Smith to his father, April 24, 1851, in "Letters of Seth and Asa Smith, 1850-1862" (manuscript, Bancroft Library).

79. *Memoirs of Elisha Oscar Crosby*, ed. by Charles Albro Barker (Huntington Library, 1945), pp. 109-11.

80. "A Miner Writes his Thoughts before his Cabin Fire," *Pacific*, Feb. 3, 1854. Such observations are very common; but *see* Eliza W. Farnham, *California, In-Doors and Out; or How We Farm, Mine, and Live Generally in the Golden State* (New York, 1856), pp. 291-306, *passim.*

81. Joseph Henry Jackson, *Anybody's Gold. The Story of California's Mining Towns* (New York, 1941), p. 188.

82. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

83. Church fairs were so popular and remunerative that they were held in practically every Protestant primary church, as well as in some secondary churches. In addition to those described in the text, *see* Sonora *Union Democrat*, Nov. 25, 1854; Nevada *Journal*, Jan. 22, Aug. 21, 1852; and July 8, 1853; *Pacific*, Jan. 6, 1854; *Calif. Christian Advocate*, June 17, 1852.

84. *Records of a California Family. Journals and Letters of Lewis C. Gunn and Elizabeth LeBreton Gunn*, ed. by Anna Lee Marston (San Diego, 1928), pp. 221-22; hereafter cited as Marston, ed., *Records.*

85. Columbia *Gazette*, April 29 and May 6, 1854.

86. Charles D. Ferguson, *California Gold Fields* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1948), pp. 104-105.

87. Nevada *Journal*, Sept. 20, 1851.

88. *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1851.

89. *Ibid.*, Feb. 7 and 19, 1852.

90. Hero Eugene Rensch, "Educational Activities of Protestant Churches in California, 1849-1860" (M.A. thesis, Stanford Univ., 1929), pp. 67, 133.

91. William Warren Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936* (Berkeley, 1937), p. 7.

92. Rensch, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-88; John Swett, *Public Education in California. Its Origin and Development, with Personal Reminiscences of Half a Century* (New York, 1911), p. 151.

94. The school opened May 12, 1856. The announcement is in the Prevaux Papers (manuscript, Bancroft Library).

95. Rensch, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

96. This may be taken for granted, but the statistics in the *Pacific*, Feb. 13, 1852, which purport to show the number of children in various mining towns, and the available educational facilities, must be used with caution.

97. *E.g.*, J. McHenry Caldwell divided his time between teaching and preaching in Diamond Springs, El Dorado County, in 1852. The townspeople were dissatisfied with him as a preacher. *See* Owen to Durbin, Aug. 11, 1852, Owen Papers.

98. *E.g.*, Columbia *Gazette*, Jan. 22, 1853.

99. Thompson and West, *History of Amador County, California* (Oakland, 1881), pp. 169-70.

100. These semi-private, semi-public schools were attended by Protestant and Catholic children alike. Unsigned letter to Thomas Conlin, dated 1923 (manuscript, Archives, William S. Cavalier Memorial Museum, Columbia, Calif.). Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 76, identifies the author as Mrs. Elizabeth Sanborn.

101. Ferrier, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

102. *Thirty-second An. Rept.*, Mis. Soc. Methodist Episcopal Church (New York, 1851), p. 104. (Italics in original.)

103. C. V. Anthony, *Fifty Years of Methodism* (San Francisco, 1901), pp. 28-30.

104. Methodist Minutes, MS, p. 60. There is little chance that these figures err on the side of parsimony.

105. Nevada *Journal*, April 1, 1853.

106. Columbia *Gazette*, Dec. 10, 1853.

107. William Warren Ferrier, "The Origin and Growth of the Protestant

Church on the Pacific Coast," in *Religious Progress on the Pacific Slope* (Boston, 1917), p. 60.

108. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

109. *Thirty-seventh An. Rept.*, American Bible Soc. (New York, 1853), II, 818.

110. *Thirty-sixth An. Rept.* of same (1852), II, 737-38.

111. *Thirty-eighth An. Rept.* of same (1854), III, 65; *Pacific*, June 4, 1852; Grass Valley *Telegraph*, May 25, 1854. The Baptists organized their own Pacific Tract Society in 1850. (*See* note 61 above.) Sanford Fleming, *God's Gold, the Story of Baptist Beginnings in California, 1849-1860* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 102.

112. Nevada *Journal*, June 3, 1853.

113. *Pacific*, Sept. 10, 1852.

114. Marston, ed., *Records*, pp. 179, 219.

115. *Pacific*, Dec. 10 and 17, 1852.

116. Sonora *Herald*, March 18, 1854.

117. *Ibid.* Harmon may also have preached a sermon on capital punishment. *See* Marston, ed., *Records*, p. 224.

118. Sonora *Herald*, March 18, 1854.

119. Marston, ed., *Records*, p. 224 (note).

120. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

122. Silas S. Harmon to S. H. Willey, Aug. 23, 1853, AHMS Papers.

123. Grass Valley *Telegraph*, Feb. 2 and March 2, 1854.

124. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1854.

125. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1854.

126. *Ibid.*, March 23 and April 27, 1854.

127. Columbia *Gazette*, Jan. 14, 1854.

128. Sonora *Union Democrat*, Nov. 18, 1854.

129. Nevada *Journal*, Sept. 30, 1853.

130. Grass Valley *Telegraph*, Oct. 6, 1853.

131. *E.g.*, Columbia *Gazette*, March 25, 1854; Grass Valley *Telegraph*, Oct. 20, 1853.

132. Sonora *Union Democrat*, Dec. 2, 1854. In Mokelumne Hill in Feb. 1852, Isaac B. Fish attended a lecture on astronomy. *See* his "Journal" (as in note 10 above), I, 136.

133. Sonora *Union Democrat*, Oct. 14, 1854.

134. *Pacific Banner*, Dec. 11, 1852.

135. Fish, *op. cit.*, June 21, 1852, II, 13.

136. Columbia *Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1853.

137. Nevada *Journal*, Oct. 28, 1853.

138. *See* Sonora *Union Democrat*, Nov. 11, 1854; *Pacific*, Feb. 23, 1855.

139. *A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush. The Letters of Franklin A. Buck* (Boston, 1930), p. 135.

140. *Pacific*, Oct. 3, 1851.

141. *Constitution of the Order of Sons of Temperance of North America, together with By-laws* ... (San Francisco, 1862), p. 31. (Hereafter cited as Sons of Temperance, *Constitution.*)

142. *Pacific*, June 25, 1852.

143. Sons of Temperance, *Constitution*, pp. 31-32, 41.

144. This was the plan announced in the Columbia *Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1853.

145. *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1853.

146. *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1854.

147. *Ibid.*, April 15 and May 27, 1854.

148. *Pacific Banner*, March 17, 1853.

149. Nevada *Journal*, Aug. 26, 1853.

150. Anthony, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

151. Placer *Herald*, April 22, 1854. According to Edward Adams Hazen, *Salvation to the Uttermost* (Lansing, 1892), p. 75, there was a building in Iowa Hill in 1855, which was apparently used as a secondary Methodist church.

152. Placerville *Herald*, Oct. 29, 1853.

153. Anthony, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

154. Figures given here are from the *Daily California Chronicle*, Sept. 29, 1855, and represent incomplete returns; I have not been able to find later figures. The plebiscite was authorized by the legislature on May 4, 1855. *Statutes of California*, Sixth Sess., 1855, p. 240. The election was held on Sept. 7, 1855.

155. Samuel H. Willey, "Present Conditions of Society. A Sermon Delivered in the Howard Street Presbyterian Church, June 8, 1851," *in* Miscellaneous Writings of Samuel Hopkins Willey, Arranged and Annotated by Himself (manuscript, Archives, Univ. Calif.), I, 10-11.

156. Timothy Dwight Hunt, *Sermon Suggested by the Execution of Jenkins, on the Plaza, by "The People" of San Francisco, during the Night of the 10th of June, 1851* (San Francisco, 1851), pp. 13-14, 19-21.

157. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-26. (Italics in original.)

158. B[enjamin] Brierly, *Thoughts for the Crisis: A Discourse Delivered in the Washington St. Baptist Church, San Francisco, Cal.* (San Francisco, 1856), p. 9.

159. Prevaux to his parents, May 19, 1856. Prevaux Papers.

160. William C. Pond, *Gospel Pioneering. Reminiscences of Early Congregationalism in California, 1853-1920* (Oberlin, 1921), p. 73.

161. Paul T. Lauby, "The History of Protestantism in California from 1846 to 1856 as Reflected in the Secular Newspapers of that Period" (B.D. thesis, Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, 1947), p. 158.

162. Fish, *op. cit.*, Feb. 6, 1852, I, 136.

163. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1852, II, 5.

164. *See* W. Carroll [Conrad Wiegand], *Dr. Scott, The Vigilance Committee*

and the Church (San Francisco, 1856), *passim.* For conflicting interpretations of the hanging in effigy, *see* San Francisco *Daily Herald,* Oct. 6, 1856; and *Daily Alta California,* Oct. 7, 1856.

165. Simmons, *op. cit.,* p. 143.

166. *Ibid.,* pp. 82-85; Buck (as in note 139 above), pp. 110-11; Lauby, *op. cit.,* pp. 156-57; Enos Christman, *One Man's Gold. The Letters & Journal of a Forty Niner,* compiled and edited by Florence Morrow Christman (New York, 1930), pp. 189-95; James Woods, *Recollections of Pioneer Work in California* (San Francisco, 1878), pp. 149-53, 173-78.

167. Fish, *op. cit.,* Aug. 2, 1852, II, 18-19.

168. Columbia *Gazette,* Feb. 25, 1854.

169. Taylor, *op. cit.,* p. 287.

170. Timothy Dwight Hunt, *Address Delivered before the New England Society of San Francisco, at the American Theater, on the Twenty-second Day of December, A. D., 1852* (San Francisco, 1853), p. 20.

171. Taylor, *op. cit.,* pp. 287-88.

172. Fish, *op. cit.,* Jan. 11, 1852, I, 129.

173. Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1947), pp. 305-306.

174. Harmon in *Home Missionary,* XXVI (Nov. 1853), 162.

175. Josiah Royce, *California, from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco. A Study in American Character* (Boston & New York, 1886), pp. 375-76.

M. S. Latham and the Senatorial Controversy of 1857

By William F. Thompson, Jr.

California politics in 1857 were experiencing a period of adjustment and realignment. Nowhere was the realignment more apparent than within the Democratic party, which had regained control of both houses of the legislature after its defeat two years before by the Know Nothings. The wounds caused by antagonism between two of its own leaders, David C. Broderick[1] and William M. Gwin,[2] were still unhealed; consequently it was not surprising that less recognized figures should angle for power. Among the most successful of these was the young and ambitious collector of the port of San Francisco, Milton Slocum Latham.

Latham was a northerner by birth, a southerner by training, and a Californian by choice. Born in Ohio on May 23, 1827, he received his education in his native state and in Pennsylvania before moving to Alabama in 1846. There he studied law in the offices of Solomon Heydenfeldt[3] and was first initiated into Democratic politics. Together they moved to California, arriving in San Francisco on April 15, 1850, on board the steamer *Tennessee*. Latham retained his interest in politics and served for six months as the first district attorney of Sacramento and El Dorado counties before his election as congressman in November 1852. While in Washington he so impressed President Franklin Pierce and Secretary of the Treasury James Guthrie that he was appointed, with no solicitation on his own part, to the post of collector of the port of San Francisco upon his return to California in 1855. It was this position which Latham held when the Democratic party caucus met in Sacramento in early January 1857.

Unusual interest centered on the caucus and on the delegates who began to arrive in the capital some time before the first meeting was scheduled. Focal point was the nomination of candidates for *both* seats in the U. S. senate, as the Know-Nothing party in the legislature of 1856 had failed to elect a successor to Senator Gwin, whose term had expired on March 3, 1855;[4] and the term of the other senator from California, John B. Weller,[5] was due to end on March 3, 1857. Both Gwin and Weller were candidates for re-election. The public generally believed that Broderick would bid for Gwin's short-term seat (expiring March 3, 1861);[6] but, early in April 1856, in an attempt to mend the breach within the party, Broderick and a representative of Gwin met in San Francisco and agreed that Broderick would run against Weller for the long-term (expiring March 3, 1863), while Gwin would retake his own seat. It was understood that the two factions would cooperate with each other, or at least not oppose the candidacy of the other.[7]

This agreement encouraged other senatorial hopefuls to compete with Gwin for the short-term nomination. Among those conceded the best chance of winning were Latham and former Congressman Joseph W. McCorkle of Butte County. They were the bitterest of personal and political enemies; on occasion, however, McCorkle's dislike for Gwin might even overshadow his enmity for Latham.[8] The strength of McCorkle's candidacy lay in his close relationship with Broderick, who, by the time of the caucus, no longer wanted Gwin as his colleague. Broderick's new alliance with McCorkle was known to Gwin, who planned accordingly. At the same time many observers were of the opinion that, although McCorkle could not defeat Gwin for the nomination, Latham very well could.[9]

As collector of the port of San Francisco, Latham possessed great influence, for he used the patronage of the custom house to promote his own election and was not reluctant to remove Gwin's supporters from office. Many of these changed their allegiance to Latham in order to retain their positions, and new applicants were not unwilling to ally themselves with the collector. Although Gwin controlled the patronage of the naval office and the surveyorship of the port, his influence was scarcely comparable to that of his rival in the custom house.[10] Such changes of allegiance were not confined to the smaller office-seekers. Charles L. Scott,[11] congressman-elect, and P. L. Solomon, among others, deserted Gwin for Latham as the day of the caucus drew near.

Patronage also figured prominently in Broderick's plans for the senatorship. By 1857 he was in severe financial difficulties because of large political expenses incurred in the fight, over the years, for the senatorship.[12] It was therefore of great importance to him that, with his election as senator, he should control federal patronage; such control would also increase his political power within the state. His success in politics had been due in part to the devotional support of his followers, and he was determined to reward those who had maintained his cause through the lean years. As he considered the relationship between the patronage and the coming senatorial nominations, he was impressed with the possibilities of his controlling *all* the federal patronage. The normal course of the caucus would be to nominate the candidate for the short-term before the long-term, or, from Broderick's point-of-view, to select his colleague before he was nominated himself. Deciding upon a bold and totally unprecedented plan, he determined to have himself nominated and elected to the long-term *before* the selection of the short-term senator. By such a method he might thus dictate the choice for the short-term, and, in that way, control the patronage of the junior senator as well.

II

The stock in Latham's candidacy stood high on the boat from San Francisco to Sacramento, where one of his admirers offered to cover any bets on his eventual success.[13] The *Daily Alta California* reported that "the opposition against Mr. L. is a negative one," and he "has many ardent co-operators, and . . . tact enough to use their influence to the best advantage."[14] The *Daily Evening Bulletin* was even more enthusiastic:

> Mr. Latham stands on a platform as new as it is singular — honesty in office and strict accountability to the people. This is a doctrine not recognized among California politicians; but he takes the initiative, and is willing to trust the people. With a fortune honorably earned and prudently secured, he is not necessitated to pander to any vicious propensity or sell offices that may be in his gift to eke out a beggarly existence. Honorable in all the positions of life, he can be trusted to perform the duties of Senator for the distinction the office confers. The people of California are awake to the importance of being represented by good men.[15]

Latham's firmest supporters at the caucus were an unpredictable group; many of them, although close friends of David Broderick, joined Latham's cause for reasons of their own. John Conness[16] and James M. Estell[17] preferred McCorkle, but, foreseeing probable futility in his candidacy, they went into the Latham camp; and the idea of "anything or anybody to defeat Gwin" made them join with Gen. John A. McDougall[18] in trying to persuade McCorkle to swing to Latham, when his own nomination proved impossible. David Mahoney and Frank Tilford,[19] of Broderick's inner circle of friends, backed Latham in the streets. Latham, himself, placed much of his confidence in Daniel

Showalter,[20] John C. Burch,[21] and Samuel M. Merritt,[22] who preferred Weller to Broderick for the long-term, the Showalter-Burch-Merritt group being augmented by Charles L. Scott and P. L. Solomon, who had deserted Gwin for Latham. Throughout the whole caucus, this heterogeneous group earnestly supported Collector of the Port Latham.[23]

Latham established his headquarters at the "Fashion" on J Street above Second Street in Sacramento; Broderick settled at the "Magnolia" on J below Second; and Gwin stayed at the Orleans Hotel on Second between J and K. This proximity encouraged the candidates to spy on the movements of their opponents, but, at the same time, it allowed easy access to the other buildings by any of the interconnecting courts or alleys which divided the blocks.[24]

As the first step in putting his plan into motion, Broderick carefully canvassed his supporters, only to find that he lacked two votes for the majority required to reverse the order of nomination. Undismayed, he approached Judge Solomon Heydenfeldt, the manager of the Weller campaign, and offered to support Weller for the short-term if he would deliver to him the two votes he needed. Heydenfeldt refused to have any part of the plan.[25] On January seventh, the day before the caucus first met, Broderick made the same proposal to Latham; and Latham, unlike Weller, having little to lose and much to gain by such an agreement, readily accepted. Those who knew of the agreement now regarded Latham's nomination as a foregone conclusion. The belief became widespread when the press indicated that some arrangement between Broderick and Latham had actually been concluded.[26]

III

The caucus met on Thursday, January 8, 1857. On motion to reverse the order of nomination, the Broderick-Latham combination was successful, and, after the nominations for the long-term had been made, they again combined to nominate Broderick over Weller, forty-two to thirty-four. Broderick received four votes from the Latham forces — two more than was required for the choice. The following day, Broderick was elected U. S. senator for the long-term by the legislature and received the official credentials which he had sought so long.[27] He now turned his attention to the contest for the short-term for which, on Thursday, the caucus had received in nomination the names of Gwin, Latham, McCorkle, B. F. Washington,[28] Stephen J. Field,[29] A. P. Crittenden,[30] and James W. Denver.[31] After the first ballot the results were: Gwin, 26; Latham, 21; McCorkle, 15; Washington, 7; Field, 7; Crittenden, 2; and Denver, 1. Crittenden withdrew before the second ballot, and the net result was that Gwin dropped to twenty-five while Latham rose to twenty-four. No candidate received the forty votes required for nomination, so the caucus adjourned until the next night, Friday, January ninth.[32]

Four ballots were cast on Friday night, Denver withdrawing after the first. On the last vote of the session – the sixth in the balloting for the short-term – Gwin had received 28 votes to Latham's 23, with McCorkle receiving 14, Washington 8, Field 5.[33] Again there was no choice, and adjournment was taken until the next evening, January tenth. Although the trend of the balloting had indicated a drift toward Gwin, the newspapers generally discounted his ability to secure the nomination and believed the real contest would be between Latham and McCorkle. The pro-Latham *Daily Evening Bulletin* thought that Latham's greatest disadvantage was his honesty:

> Of all the candidates for the short term Senatorial, I think Latham would stand the best chance, if his record antecedent were a little of the thieving order. He has kept it quite too clean to suit the taste of such men as Estell and his immediate associates.[34]

On Saturday evening, January tenth, occurred the first in the series of events which ultimately affected the result of Latham's candidacy for the short-term nomination. Gwin's supporters circulated a statement by Thomas I. Smiley, which implied that Latham was a supporter of the Vigilance Committee in San Francisco. This organization had taken San Francisco away from the Democrats and was generally condemned by the party. The Democrats claimed that prisoners of the Committee were often banished by forced departure upon steamships of the Pacific Mail SS. Co., without means to make protest or regain their liberty. The statement by Smiley, who had been a member of the executive committee of the Committee of Vigilance of 1856, said that he and William T. Coleman, president of the organization, had called upon Latham and had received a promise from him not to interfere with deportation of the committee's prisoners. Although these deportations were infractions of the federal law, Latham was said to have promised not to use the federal revenue cutter, *Wm. L. Marcy*, which was at his disposal, against the committee.[35]

Although there is little or no evidence to support either Smiley's statement or Latham's denial of cooperation with the committee – Coleman could not be reached for confirmation of the charge –, one wonders if Smiley, who was a well-known auctioneer in San Francisco, was not asking for further bids of support for the Gwin candidacy. Why would Latham have allied himself to an organization which was opposed to his own party, even though, as was claimed, most of those deported were Broderick's friends? Why was such a charge withheld until in the midst of a bitter political caucus and then released only when it could most harm Latham's chances of success? And why was the statement made public, not by Broderick, against whom the supposed agreement had been directed, but by Gwin, who was desperately trying to retain his seat in the Senate against the candidacy of Latham? On the other hand, Latham must have been aware of the deportations which were common knowledge in San Francisco. The reason for his conduct may have been indicated in an article which appeared in the *Daily Evening Bulletin* of a few days earlier:

> Although personally friendly to Mr. Latham, we must say that he did not take that bold stand in relation to the late Vigilance Committee that we expected from so prominent a man. Being in the service of the United States, he claimed to occupy a neutral ground, yet we have every reason to know he endeavored to use his official position to prevent the employees of the government under his charge from joining that organization.[36]

Despite the fact that the forced deportations were infractions of the federal law, Latham's desire for neutrality in this matter did not necessarily enlist him on the side of the Viligance Committee, as was implied in Smiley's statement. He may have felt that, as a Democratic official in a city dominated by an organization hostile to his party, a declaration of neutrality was his safest course. A further charge that he had kept his brother, James H. Latham, in his position at the custom house at the same time that he was an officer in the military companies of the Vigilance Committee, was indefensible to certain Democrats, except on grounds of neutrality and the fact that he could not be held responsible for his brother's political activities.

But whatever the truth of the matter, the charges made serious inroads upon Latham's support at the capital and indeed throughout the state. Those Democrats who felt themselves most offended by the Vigilance Committee's actions now turned away from his candidacy, despite the most earnest efforts of some of his friends.[37] He did not need to worry about his pledged supporters; the problem he faced was to secure the additional votes required for nomination. For reasons of his own Broderick had failed to throw his full support behind Latham as had been implied in their agreement of January seventh. Instead, beyond those friends of his who had supported Latham from the very beginning, the votes Broderick controlled were divided between McCorkle and Field.

The caucus cast the seventh to eleventh ballots on Saturday, January tenth. B. F. Washington withdrew from the balloting, and when the caucus reconvened on Monday evening the result of the eleventh ballot was: Gwin, 30; Latham, 24; McCorkle, 18; and Field, 7.[38] The *Daily California Chronicle* reported that Latham intended running Gwin up to 35 votes, in order to frighten McCorkle and Field into supporting him as the only candidate who could defeat Gwin.[39] But on the following day the same newspaper reported that the withdrawal of McCorkle and Field would favor Gwin, and that "it is not unlikely the old horse will beat the colt."[40] Nevertheless the partial containment of Gwin in the evening balloting, taken in connection with the events of the day, made the feeling around headquarters at the Fashion one of confidence in the final victory of their candidate.[41]

IV

Events determining the nominee for the short-term followed rapidly. With the votes which Broderick controlled divided between McCorkle and Field, a decision could only be reached when Broderick determined upon which candidate to settle his full support. Of these, Gwin and Latham were the only ones whose own strength could command, with what Broderick might add to it, a majority of the caucus. Field had no illusions about his own candidacy; in the main he had only been preparing his way to an appointment on the state supreme court. When McCorkle, Estell, and Conness met shortly after Broderick's election to the senate, they decided that McCorkle's nomination by the caucus was impossible, and they determined to concentrate their full support upon Latham. Latham's nomination by the caucus the following Monday was therefore considered a certainty by informed politicians.[42]

Sunday, January eleventh, was the fateful day for all the candidates seeking the short-term nomination. Sometime early in the evening, J. M. Pindell, a Latham backer, met Frank Tilford in front of the Orleans Hotel. Tilford was excited and angry and claimed that a written pledge, given to him by Latham and promising to support him for appointment to the collectorship of the port of San Francisco in the event of Latham's election, was missing from a bureau drawer in his room. Believing that

Latham or one of his supporters had taken it, Tilford was denouncing him in loud terms to his backers among Broderick's friends. He had already been to Broderick and had told him the story. At Latham's request, Pindell persuaded Tilford to accompany him to Latham's room. Latham denied any knowledge of the loss, and immediately wrote and offered another pledge of support. Pindell then suggested that Tilford search his room once more; upon doing so he found the original pledge in his bureau drawer. Tilford said he was mortified that, in his mind, he had wronged Latham, and he promised to refute any reports of a theft which might come to his attention. He then informed Broderick that the missing pledge had been found.[43]

Although the incident had been resolved to the satisfaction of the participants, only a few of the members of the caucus knew that the original pledge had been found and that Tilford's claims were mistaken, whereas many had heard of his tirade against Latham when he thought the letter had been taken from his room. Of greater importance in its ultimate result was the fact that the Tilford-letter incident provided Broderick with an excuse to desert Latham, if such a course would best suit his own plans for complete control of the California patronage.

As to Latham's participation in the events that determined the nomination for the short-term, below is the story in his own words:

> A statement having been made about an interview between Mr D. C. Broderick & myself, during the late Senatorial Controversy, I present the following facts:
>
> At the "urgent request" of Mr Broderick & at the Solicitation of D. Mahoney, on the night of 11th January at 9. P.M. I called on Mr Broderick in a room in the "Magnolia" Sacramento.
>
> Among other things said Mr Broderick charged me with "having promised all the offices" I replied that I had promised my influence for the Collectorship to his friend Frank Tilford and Surveyor to Mr. Crandall his own & Mr. Gwin's friend & had said that I would cooperate with Mr Scott in getting the Marshalship if possible, for his friend Maj Solomon of Tuolumne Co & beyond these I had promised nothing.
>
> Mr Broderick then asked me to put in writing a relinquishment of my right to dispose of all the Federal Patronage of California. I replied I never would acceed (sic) to such a proposition. I then went to Mr Mahoney's room & told him at once, what had occurred. I immediately called Gen Estell, Mr. F Tilford & C. L. Scott together in my bedroom & told them what had passed between Mr Broderick and myself & my refusal of his proposition.
>
> They approved my course, & Gen Estell left my room to see Mr. Broderick, if he really designed such an exaction. At 3 o'clock A.M. of the 12th Jany Gen

Estell came to my bedroom, when I was in bed & said Mr. Broderick demanded such a writing.

The next morning, I sent for Gen. Estell & told him again that I had advised with other friends & "had finally concluded to execute no writing whatever, to make me a mere automaton & disgrace myself & friends."

He agreed that this was right & left to carry my answer to Mr. Broderick.

At one o'clock P.M. on the 12 Jany, I again sent for Gen Estell & in the presence of Mr. C. L. Scott, told him again, in order that there might not be any misrepresentation or misunderstanding to go again to Mr. Broderick, and say that "my promise was given as stated above, & that if elected, I would defer in a great degree to his superior judgement of men, but as to signing any agreement in writing or binding myself in the manner proposed, I would not do it to be President of the U. S. or Emperor of all the Mongols." Gen. Estell replied "You are right & I am as your friend, proud of you & will carry your answer at once" & left for that purpose.

Gen. Estell told me an hour after, that he had executed my commission & that he despaired of success.

The above is substantially what occurred in this matter and is the truth.

Jany. 15, 1857.[44] MILTON S. LATHAM

The last steps in Broderick's plan for complete control of the patronage were now apparent. Secure in the knowledge that neither Gwin nor Latham could be nominated for the short-term without his support, he was prepared to give it to the one who would surrender his share of the California spoils.

Latham's eleventh of January meeting with Broderick is confirmed by David Mahoney who said that Latham had come out excited and had told him Broderick had demanded all his share of the federal patronage. Latham further told Mahoney that he would never sacrifice his rights as a senator, and that he would remain a man and a gentleman before he would be a compromised senator. He was determined never to sign such a document.[45] Scott attested to the first and fourth meetings in Latham's bedroom, including even the "Emperor of all the Mongols" utterance.[46]

Two statements by General Estell add further light on the negotiations that evening and the next morning. Broderick remarked to Estell on his first trip to the Magnolia that Latham's friends had been in office for some time and many of them had been continued for years, while his own friends had been neglected. When Latham asked Estell upon his return what he should do, Estell advised him

to accede to the request and put it in writing, with all the qualifications originally spoken of, telling you at the same time that if it were done, I would write it

> myself, and would to the best of my ability protect your honor in the transaction.
>
> In this you consented and I sought an interview with Mr. Broderick. He declined accepting anything but an unconditional surrender, when our interview terminated.
>
> I then called upon you (and found you in bed) and informed you of the facts; your answer was, "it is well, perhaps it is best; I shall at least sleep sounder than I would, to have appended my name to anything disreputable to myself, connected with this canvass."[47]

Although Latham had been willing to follow Broderick's leadership to a great degree in the distribution of patronage, and, at one time in the negotiations, had been ready to sign a partial relinquishment of his rights, Broderick's determination to have complete control and Latham's equal determination, in the end, not to relinquish his rights in writing, prevented them from reaching an agreement. Unknown at the time by either Estell or Latham, Broderick had already turned to another of the candidates with the same offer.

At about midnight of the same evening Senator Gwin, dressed in black and accompanied by a single companion, descended the back steps of the Orleans. Passing through a courtyard and along the alley which ran to J Street, they continued on, unnoticed, to the rear arm of the L of the Magnolia. At a back door they were quietly admitted by Col. A. J. Butler,[48] who led them up a few steps to No. 6, Broderick's room. After a brief conversation, the companion withdrew and Gwin and Broderick were left in the room together.[49] What the two discussed at that early morning hour was not known until a few days later. Then, in a letter to the people of California, Gwin expressed his bitterness at the "unparalleled treachery" which had brought him to such a position. Stating that friends, upon whom he had conferred position and whose support he had every right to expect, had deserted him at the caucus, he had come to the conclusion that the patronage had brought him little but enmity and political slander.[50] Two years later, during the bitter campaign of 1859, Gwin's written agreement with Broderick was released to the public and confirmed what most of California had suspected. Stating that he would not recommend a single person to office while in the senate, Gwin surrendered control of the California patronage to Broderick. The statement implied that Broderick would, in return, secure Gwin's nomination and election to the short-term.[51] This he did on Monday, January 12, 1857, when he instructed his followers to vote for Gwin that evening in caucus. He told them that as McCorkle could not win the nomination, and as he would not support Latham because of the Tilford-letter incident, he had decided to deliver his votes to Senator Gwin; but he did not shield the implication that, in the choice between Latham and Gwin, Gwin was little more than the lesser of two evils.[52] To those more in his confidence he hinted at the real reason for his change in position. In conversation with Tilford, a short time before the final ballot, he did not even mention the missing letter as one of the reasons for his final decision.[53] Jonathan Carpenter, who had voted for Broderick and Latham in caucus, asked him on the same evening (January 12) if it were true that an agreement had been reached with Gwin; Broderick replied that he believed his course was proper and commendable, because, as he said, "If I go to the Senate with Latham as my collegue [*sic*] and Scott and McKibben being his friends in the lower house, I will be a mere cypher, but if I go with the other man I can have things all my own way."[54] As before, the Tilford letter was not even mentioned.

V

Despite last minute reports that Broderick had again changed his mind and intended to support Latham,[55] the third ballot cast on the evening of January twelfth (the fourteenth in balloting for the short-term) gave Gwin 47 votes, Latham 26, and McCorkle 6, the victor having received seven votes over the minimum required for the choice. Then followed a motion by Estell that the nomination be made unanimous.[56]

The entire vote that had been previously cast for Field went to Gwin, as did that part of McCorkle's vote which was controlled by Broderick. McCorkle himself and a few of his closest supporters refused to go over to Gwin on the final ballot. As to Latham, he still held his full vote, in spite of all that had been done and said against him. The following day, the legislature confirmed Gwin's nomination and re-elected him U. S. senator. That same day the loyal twenty-six, joined by many others, escorted Latham amidst band music from the Fashion down to the boat for San Francisco, and there wished him the best of future success.[57]

VI

The aftermath of the patronage dispute in the caucus of 1857 was ironic for both Broderick and Gwin. Arriving in Washington, they found that Buchanan had adopted the inexorable rule that the name of every applicant should be presented in writing endorsed by the senator or representative who recommended the appointment. Broderick was unwilling to do this as, at one time or another, he had promised the same office to two or three of his closest friends. Thus the real control of the patronage in California passed into the hands of the two representatives;[58] and the appointments, as they became known, were generally more favorable to Gwin than to Broderick.[59]

Latham recovered quickly from his defeat. In 1859, he was the gubernatorial candidate for the Lecompton wing of the Democratic party. Broderick, an anti-Lecomptonite, and Gwin, a Lecomptonite, returned to California and actively stumped the state. It was one of the bitterest political campaigns in California's history. Most of the manipulations and maneuvers of the caucus of 1857 were publicly debated, and personalities predominated over issues. Despite the attack upon his personal and political integrity, Latham won a resounding victory for the governorship, receiving twice the number of votes of his nearest rival.[60] Five days after his inauguration, and almost two years to the day after his defeat in 1857, he was elected U. S. senator, to finish the term of David Broderick, who was mortally wounded in a duel with Judge David Terry.

VII

The pendulum had made a full swing in Democratic leadership since 1857. Broderick was dead, Gwin had lost support and favor, and Latham assumed much of the command within the party. But the realignment boundaries within the party was only gaining momentum in 1859 and 1860 when Latham was in the full enjoyment of his political prestige and power. When the Civil War descended upon the nation a little more than a year later, he fell as quickly as he had risen. He fell, in part, because his desire and advocacy of a political settlement equitably fair and just to either side, and on occasion brilliantly expressed upon the floor of the U. S. senate, ran counter to the mood of the rest of the nation.[61] But he also fell because the party realignment, in whose early stages he had so actively participated, placed his own Democratic party in disfavor in California, as indeed it did in much of the rest of the country. When his term of office expired in March 1863, he realized that he had little or no chance of re-election and retired from politics, still a young man of only thirty-six. The beginning of the Democratic resurgence in 1865 found him engaged in banking and business. His talents were speedily recognized, and, during the sixties and early seventies, the Latham residence in San Francisco and another in Menlo Park were prominent as social gathering places. But his success was again short-lived. In the panic of the seventies, he lost his entire holdings in an unsuccessful railroad venture. His death occurred shortly afterwards (March 4, 1882), while he was attempting to recoup his fortune.

NOTES

1. For biographical note on David Colbreth Broderick (b. Washington, D. C., Feb. 4, 1820), see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), p. 739.

2. For same on William McKendree Gwin (b. Tennessee, Oct. 9, 1805), see *ibid.*, p. 1042.

3. Solomon Heydenfeldt (b. South Carolina, 1816) took an active part in Democratic politics in California, but his main interest continued to be the law. He served as a justice of the state supreme court, 1851-57. *See* Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (Los Angeles, 1901), p. 457.

4. James O'Meara, *Broderick and Gwin* (San Francisco, 1881), p. 128.

5. For note on John B. Weller (b. Ohio, Feb. 22, 1812), see *Biographical Directory*, as above in note 1, pp. 1680-81.

6. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-29.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

8. The Latham-McCorkle enmity dated from 1852-53, when Latham was elected to McCorkle's seat in congress. McCorkle thought it should have been his seat for another term, and he blamed Latham that he was not re-elected. In this same period, Latham courted and then married Miss Sophia Birdsall, who had previously favored McCorkle until he left for the national capital. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 160

10. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

11. For note on Charles Lewis Scott (b. Virginia, Jan. 23, 1827), see *Biographical Directory*, as above, p. 1501.

12. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

13. *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), Jan. 3, 1857.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), Dec. 29, 1856.

16. Conness had served in the state assembly in 1853 and 1854, and again in 1860 and 1861. See *Biographical Directory*, as above, p. 840.

17. Estell of Marin County had served in the state senate with Broderick. He was a Kentuckian by birth, and had emigrated to California from Missouri. The peer of the ablest in party tactics, Estell at this time was one of the leaders of the Latham forces in the state assembly. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14.

18. For note on James Alexander McDougall (b. New York state, Nov. 19, 1817), see *Biographical Directory*, as above, p. 1260.

19. Frank Tilford had served in the state senate since 1855, representing San Francisco. He was defeated for congress in 1856 by S. L. Scott, and, after the

senatorial election of 1857, was appointed naval officer for the port of San Francisco. Latham held his first position in California as clerk of the recorder's court in San Francisco under Tilford in 1850. Oscar T. Shuck, *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific* (San Francisco, 1870), pp. 277-87.

20. Daniel Showalter was a member of the assembly from Mariposa.

21. For note on John Chilton Burch (b. Missouri, Feb. 1, 1826), see *Biographical Directory*, as above, pp. 759-60.

22. Like Showalter, Col. Samuel M. Merritt was from Mariposa, and was the leader of Latham's friends in the state senate. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-43.

26. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Jan. 5, 1857.

27. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-54.

28. B. Frank Washington had been one of Gwin's firmest supporters, and commanded a large following throughout the state. A Virginian, and the leading Democratic writer of California, his candidacy threatened a serious inroad upon Gwin's forces, as they both appealed to the same southern element of the party. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

29. Stephen J. Field (b. Connecticut, Nov. 4, 1816) came to California in 1849. For biographical information, *see* O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 159, for note on Alexander P. Crittenden, a native of Kentucky, and an eminent lawyer.

31. James W. Denver was a Virginia lawyer, who had served with distinction in the Mexican War before he came to California. He was elected Democratic congressman in 1855, and subsequently served as commissioner of Indian affairs and as acting-governor of Kansas. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York, 1950), I, 256, 268.

32. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

34. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 10 and 14, 1857.

35. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-71. See also *Daily California Chronicle* (San Francisco), Jan. 10, 1857.

36. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, Jan. 5, 1857.

37. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

39. *Daily California Chronicle*, Jan. 12, 1857.

40. *Ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1857.

41. O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

43. Pindell statement, Jan. 12, 1857, in "Milton Slocum Latham Papers," California Historical Society Library (hereafter cited as Latham Papers); Tilford to

Latham, Feb. 19, 1857, *ibid.;* Tilford to editor of the *Democratic Standard,* July 20, 1859, *ibid.* This last was published in the Sacramento *Daily Union,* July 22, 1859. *See also* O'Meara, *op. cit.,* pp. 168-69.

44. Latham statement, Jan. 15, 1857, in Latham Papers.

45. Mahoney statement, Jan. 13, 1857, *ibid.*

46. Scott statement, Jan. 14, 1856, *ibid.* There are two copies of this statement in the Latham Papers: one dated as above; the other with a 7 written over the 6 in "1856" – an easily understandable mistake so early in the new year.

47. Estell to Latham, Jan. 17, 1857, in Latham Papers. *See also* O'Meara, *op. cit.,* p. 210. O'Meara publishes a letter from Estell to Broderick, dated Jan. 20, 1857, on the same subject.

48. O'Meara says that Col. A. J. Butler was Broderick's most confidential manager in the outdoor work of the contest and his generally accredited mouthpiece upon the streets. O'Meara, *op. cit.,* p. 166.

49. *Ibid.,* pp. 178-79.

50. *Daily California Chronicle,* Jan. 15, 1857.

51. O'Meara, *op. cit.,* p. 212. Herein is quoted the letter from Gwin to Broderick, dated Jan. 11, 1857.

52. *Ibid.,* pp. 208-209.

53. Tilford to editor of *Democratic Standard,* July 20, 1859, in Latham Papers.

54. Carpenter statement, Aug. 6, 1859, *ibid.*

55. O'Meara (*op. cit.,* p. 213) reports Pablo de la Guerra, state senator from Santa Barbara, as saying that, immediately preceding the caucus of that evening, Broderick asked him to withhold his vote from Gwin; that, on the same evening, Broderick, at the urgent solicitation of Conness and others who favored Latham to Gwin, endeavored to defeat the nomination, which, at an early hour that morning, he had promised to Gwin. I have found no other evidence to support this statement.

56. *Ibid.,* pp. 181-82.

57. *Ibid.,* p. 183.

58. Charles L. Scott and Joseph C. McKibben.

59. O'Meara, *op. cit.,* pp. 189-91.

60. The election returns for the gubernatorial election of 1859 were: Latham, 62,255; John Curry, the anti-Lecompton candidate, 31,298; and Leland Stanford, the Republican candidate, 10,110. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), p. 108.

61. *See* Phillip G. Auchampaugh, "James Buchanan and Some Far Western Leaders, 1860-1861," *Pac. Hist. Rev.,* XII (1943), 169-80.

Cultural Diggings at Crescent City in the 'Fifties

As Reported in the Local Press

By Frances T. McBeth

In its second issue (June 17, 1854), the Crescent City *Herald* printed a description of the way the local scene had looked from the neighboring hills, to a "keen-scented Yankee" in search of an outlet to the ocean:

> . . . In front of our present town, the eye of the practical explorer rested upon a beautiful bay, affording a safe anchorage for vessels during three-fourths of the year. Here, too, he found a beautiful crescent strand, upon which to build, surrounded by a great abundance of the best timber, with 50,000 acres of fine farming land in the vicinity. Accordingly as soon as the explorers had cognizance of the above facts, they proceeded in the spring of '53 to locate the present town site which from the form of the coast at this point is called, "Crescent City."

THE LOCAL PRESS

Up to the time of the afore-mentioned Yankee's arrival, "No poetic, pen-wielding Homer or Virgil," as far as was known to the *Herald,* had "trod these shores in days of yore." To remedy this condition, B. Y. Fechtig and U. B. Freaner had ordered a press and printing materials from San Francisco, and on Saturday, June 10, 1854, appeared the first edition of a 20-column, 20 x 26-inch weekly, called the Crescent City *Herald.* Annual subscription was $10 at first; six months, $5. (A year later, the price was reduced to $8 annually; six months, $5; but, if not paid in advance, annual price was still $10.) The following is a portion of the proprietors' salutation to their public:

> We have come amongst you for the purpose of establishing a newspaper. We have been attracted hither by the rapid growth of Crescent City, and the mineral and agricultural resources which surround it. We believe that its growing propensity demands a journal to bring it prominently before the men of enterprise and capital, who are flocking to California, so that in selection of a place wherein to put forth our [their?] energies, they may not altogether overlook its inducements. The mining region lying back of us is, without doubt, amongst the richest

in the state. . . . Already more than one hundred farmers have located at various distances around us. . . . This gives permanence to the settlement of the country. . . . and if the road, now under survey, can be completed, the advantages of communication will be so great that Crescent City must remain as it is now, the point of supply for a large and rapidly increasing population. . . .

Notwithstanding these prospects, the fall of that year (Sept. 9, 1854) saw formal announcement by Fechtig that he had disposed of his interest in the paper to S. H. Grubler;* also expressed were his thanks for "the cordial reception" given him and Freaner "on their first arrival in this place, and for the encouragement continually extended to them in establishing the pioneer sheet of Klamath county. . . ." In their statement on the same page, informing readers that Fechtig was returning to the Atlantic states, the new partners affirmed their devotion to the welfare of Crescent City, "and a section of country now on the outskirts of California and Oregon respectively." Construction of roads and trails was to be urged; public schools and churches were to claim their constant attention; and, "as the safest and speediest means of developing the resources of the country," the formation of a new territory, out of the northern portion of California and the southern part of Oregon, was to be advocated.

The next edition is dated Wednesday, September 20, 1854, marking a change from Saturdays to Wednesdays in the regular day of issue. The paper's readers are taken into its confidence: "We are sadly in want of funds, and would request those indebted to the *Herald*, to come forward with the needful [*sic*] and receive in return our cordial thanks!"

Grubler died early in June 1856, June fourth of that year being the last time his name is given as one of the *Herald's* sponsors. On the eighteenth, readers are informed that "Jos. G. Wall is duly authorized to settle all business of the late firm of Grubler and Freaner. [Signed] U. B. Freaner, surviving partner." A week later appeared an editorial expressing "misgivings as to our power of conducting it [the *Herald*] as we feel it should be conducted." Grubler, said the writer, had stood "in the estimation of all who knew him . . . as a man of untiring industry, and of the first ability." This had "established for the journal a reputation, which we fear our utmost exertions will not enable us to sustain." In the matter of policy, the paper was to be changed from a neutral to an independent journal. T. S. Pomeroy's signature was then affixed as senior member of the new firm of Pomeroy** and Freaner. In August 1859, Freaner withdrew from the *Herald,* and publication continued under Pomeroy until June 8, 1861, when he moved to Jacksonville, Oregon, with the entire office.

---

*Grubler's name appears among the paper's advertisers as forwarding and commission merchant, dealer in provisions, liquors, clothing, etc.

For eleven years† after the demise of the *Herald,* Crescent City boasted no paper except a few copies of an eight- to ten-page newsletter, the "Del Norte Investigator," neatly handwritten on foolscap. Volume 1, No. 2, was issued on Friday, June 19, 1868. It was published weekly by the members of the lyceum, and the editor of this particular number was Jos. F. Wendell. Another issue was edited by Edgar Mason, Jr. Very little local news was given, but there was much philosophizing on matrimony, etc. How long the "Del Norte Investigator" lasted is not known, as only three copies, now in private hands, have come to light.

The port of Crescent City had a newspaper, connecting it intellectually with the wide world,†† before it had a wagon road, connecting it physically with its neighbors. Snow blocked the trail over the mountains in winter, and might have continued to shut in the town on the land side, winter after winter, had not the Crescent City and Yreka Plank and Turnpike Co. undertaken to do something. Its immediate purpose was to build a road into Illinois Valley, Oregon, but for four years little progress was made. In fact, it was not until May 30, 1858, that the first teams from Jacksonville, Oregon, arrived at Crescent City. By fall of that year, regular stages were in operation between the latter and Yreka.§

THE CHURCH AS "NOBLE PROJECT"

As to actual cultivation of literacy and the spiritual side of life, for

---

**H. H. Bancroft, in business in Crescent City, 1853-55, speaks of Pomeroy as "probably the most intelligent man in the place" (*Literary Industries*, San Francisco, 1890, p. 139).

†That is, from June 8, 1861 (when the Crescent City *Herald* ceased publication) to September 12, 1872, the date of the first issue of the Crescent City *Courier.*

††For example, the Crimean War is reported on June 24, 1854, with headlines and exclamation points: "Bombardment of Odessa! 12 Russian Men of War Sunk, and Thirteen Captured! . . ." The annexation of the Sandwich Islands is discussed on September 20th of that year; progress on the Panama R.R. comes in for attention on July 4, 1855; and, of special interest to a forest-clad country, is a report two weeks later, from Silesia in Germany, on "the manufacture of wool out of the leaf of the fir and the pine. . . ."

§*See* "Early Days in Crescent City," *Del Norte Record*, Oct. 9, 1880.

over a year after the founding of Crescent City very little was accomplished, although the *Herald's* editors kept their promise of encouragement with such publicity as the following in their first edition (June 10, 1854):

> Church Enterprise. — A project has been set on foot in this place for the erection of a Church. A lot has been secured — a Committee has been elected to contract and superintend the building, but they have only about *half the funds on paper, which the plainest sort of an edifice will demand.* They are powerless, men of Crescent City, unless *you will give them more means.* The noble project so briskly and hopefully entered upon, must be abandoned . . . and the minister now among us, driven away, unless some more efficient action is taken, and a fuller and more general liberality is manifested by our townsmen.

This was enlarged upon on the twenty-fourth: "We need a place of worship. For there is nothing that benefits a community so much, or exerts a more powerful influence over society, and brings it back to its proper state, than a well organized church. The Rev. Mr. Edward S. Lacy is now using every exertion in soliciting subscriptions for the purpose of erecting a Presbyterian Church. Merchants and others have contributed liberally toward it."

September eighth of that year, the *Herald* reported that the framework "of the first church in this place" had been raised. Continuing, the article expressed confidence that the building would be "speedily finished. It is thirty feet wide, by fifty feet long, and fifteen feet in the clear, with a belfry. When completed, it will be an ornament to the city, and we sincerely trust, a benefit also. There are now some 500 inhabitants, amongst whom about twenty families, living here. Many of these intend to made this their permanent abode. A church is in itself a symbol of stability, and religion the parent tree of morality and virtue, under whose shelter domestic life, enjoyment and happiness develop themselves."

On the third of February of the next year (1855), the new Presbyterian church was dedicated with "impressive" services by the Rev. Mr. Lacy, an "uncommonly large" congregation participating, according to the *Herald* of February seventh. Two months later the new church was still eliciting comment in the press, the *Herald* of April eleventh calling it a "very respectable frame building, plastered, well finished and capable of seating 250 people"; and the paper expressed the opinion that the trustees "would probably not object to giving free use of it to a minister of any Christian Denomination." Ill health obliged the Rev.

Mr. Lacy to relinquish his post. The Rev. Timothy Dwight Hunt (formerly a New School Presbyterian; from 1852, a Congregationalist) stopped off in Crescent City in July on his way to San Francisco from a tour in Oregon, and preached in the church, as was noted in the *Herald* of July 25, 1855. The next month, the Rev. Mr. E. J. Vail was in town on a visit; he also preached in the new building — with good results, according to the *Herald* of August fifteenth: "We were agreeably surprised on last Sunday by the unusual quiet which prevailed in the streets. The Rev. Mr. Vail preached twice in the Presbyterian church to quite numerous audiences." Another pulpit-supply figured in the news on December 24, 1846: "The Rev. Mr. [J.] Jeffrey of the M. E. church came up on the *Columbia*, and preached in the church last Sunday. — His sermon was universally pronounced a very good one." As to church finances, a debt of over a thousand dollars was said by the *Herald* of October 3, 1855, to be continuing to give the trustees some difficulty in deciding upon the best method of making payment.* Certain ladies, talented in sewing and eager to help, had been contributing toward the amount since the preceding January (*Herald*, Jan. 31, 1855).

INTELLECTUAL LIGHT

The question of schools received, as the editors had promised, their "constant attention." On September 20, 1854, under the heading, "Lecture on Education," they declared that they had "seldom seen a more promising assemblage of people in this place" than at the lecture the previous Friday night by [G. S.] Ramsay. In defining education, Mr. Ramsay was reported as saying that it was,

> a systematical cultivation of three principal faculties, with which every human being is gifted, viz.: Observation, Reflection and Experiment or Application. . . . Mr. Ramsay remarked that here in California, amidst the strife for wealth and a life of unrestrained freedom, we are too apt to neglect the cultivation of mind, and consequently lose much of that refinement, which characterized our former homes. . . . Mr. Ramsay concluded with much feeling in an appeal to the young men, to improve their leisure hours during the long evenings of approaching winter by the acquisition of knowledge. . . .

---

*Eventually the Methodists took possession of the building, until they erected a new church in 1867; thereafter it was occupied by the Catholics. (*Min. Calif. An. Conf., Methodist Episcopal Church, 15th sess., held at Santa Clara, Sept. 18-24, 1867* [San Francisco, 1867], p. 33; Henry L. Walsh, *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails*, Univ. Santa Clara Press, 1946, pp. 277, 279, 293.)

In the *Herald* of November 29, 1854, appeared a review of the school situation:

> There are from twenty to twenty-four children frequenting the day school of Mr. Ramsay, and we understand that at an early date a public examination will take place. . . . Although many of the scholars entered the school with but little previous preparation, yet we think it contains enough proficiency to make such an examination interesting to the public at large.

Illustrating this proficiency were some extracts from "My Adopted Home," written, so the *Herald* said, by a girl of eleven years:

> This spot to be my new born home! This the spot for which I left the land of my nativity. For thee I've left my childhood scenes. . . . For village spires – but lofty trees whose tops like obelisks are pointed to the skies now meet my gaze. They say that yonder hills yield treasures most rich, that the sands are golden sands, and that the valleys crowned with rich vegetation yield flowers of the sweetest balm! Well be it so. Yet can thy wealth and beauties sold, buy hearts that only beat in unison with one's own? That feel one's woes and think them half their own? If so, prize thy wealth, and smile upon my fate, embrace thy lauded charms, and tread with proudest step thy long sought shore. If not, may heaven give me a mind content, and such few friends as may a pleasure prove in future life.

Not until some four months had passed was this sign of talent among the town's young people succeeded by the "public examination" hinted at above. The blessing of the editors was given in the *Herald* of April 4, 1855 – the morning of the event:

> SCHOOL EXHIBITION. – This evening the community will have an opportunity of witnessing a scene of uncommon interest. The school taught during the past winter by S. G. Ramsay esq., is about to close, and the scholars will exhibit specimens of the proficiency acquired in the different branches of education and accomplishments. The exercises are to commence at early candle light in the Presbyterian church, and are distributed amongst some twenty scholars.
>
> The attendance will undoubtedly be large but the building is capacious and affords ample room to the lovers of "Young America."

The following week (April 11, 1855), in its report of the exhibit, the *Herald* said that the church had been crowded to capacity; that the scholars had gone "through the exercises with much credit to themselves and to their teacher. There was but one voice of general satisfaction amongst the public, coupled with the wish that such an exhibition might take place oftener as an incentive to zeal of the scholars and a source of gratification and pleasure to the Community."

When school opened the next fall, there was a new educator in charge, the Rev. Mr. E. J. Vail (mentioned earlier in this article), of whom the *Herald* spoke highly on August 15, 1855: "The Rev. Mr. Vail is a graduate of the New York University, and it gives us great pleasure to learn that our Commissioners [E. Mason and J. F. Wendell] have been able to secure the services of a man so eminently qualified for the task, and so favorably known as a successful teacher in the Northern part of this State."

The question of facilities for education was thoroughly discussed editorially in the *Herald* of Oct. 3, 1855:

> In a former number, we mentioned the fact, that the school at this place (being also the only one in Klamath county, we believe) is at the exclusive charge of the parents of the children visiting it, save a small pro rata of the School money, derived from the State School Fund, which may amount to perhaps a little over one hundred dollars per annum. . . . The number of children in this District, as reported in 1854 to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, was 42. . . . We conceive it now to be the duty of our civic authorities to adopt the measures for securing our school on a permanent basis. . . .

As to the safety of the pupils in winter weather, the editorial declared that the present building could not be used, because no parents, "regarding with solicitude the health of their child, could conscientiously send it to spend daily several hours in a mere shed, affording but a partial shelter from the inclemencies of the weather, and if suitable accommodations are not furnished — what will be the consequences? Why, the school will break up again." It would be better to submit to taxation and "build or buy a schoolhouse at once," as a good school room could not be rented for less than $30 per month.

From a notice, again signed by G. S. Ramsay, in the *Herald* of January 16, 1856, it appears that the Rev. Mr. Vail could give only limited time to teaching in Crescent City:

> An exhibition will take place in the Church of this place, on Saturday, the 19th inst. A variety of Declamations and Compositions, original and selected, will be brought before the public. All interested in the progress and development of youth are respectfully invited to attend. N.B. — a collection will be taken up on the occasion, for educational purposes. G.S.R.

A solution for the school problem was not forthcoming, even after the passage of six months. Private citizens offered alternatives; for example, Mrs. I. J. Hoover inserted a "Card" in the *Herald* of June 25, 1856, in which she said that she had "engaged a handsomely finished, well lighted room on the corner of 2nd and G Streets," where she expected to open a school on the sixteenth of June. She hoped that those who entrusted their children to her care would not have reason to complain "either of the improvement of the pupils or the price of tuition; which latter, if a full school be obtained will be reduced to so low a rate that parents will find it cheaper to send their children to school than to have them in the streets." The town had done its best to improve conditions in the streets. Just the year before, the council had passed a set of ordinances (see *Herald* for July 18, 1855): No. 6 provided that "No person or persons shall drive or cause to be driven any horse, mule, or other animal through the streets of the city in a furious manner, under penalty of ten dollars and the costs of prosecution . . .;" and No. 13 said that the marshal of the city was "empowered to employ a proper person whose duty it shall be to apprehend all Hogs running at large, and convey them to the Public Pound or to a place appointed by the Board for that purpose. . . ."

Interim solutions continued to be applied. According to the *Herald* of December 24, 1856, the Rev. Mr. J. Jeffrey (see above) of the Methodist Episcopal church came up on the *SS. Columbia* and preached and also taught school; but not continuously, as on April 1, 1857, the paper reported that "the school which has been kept by Mr. Jeffreys [*sic*] for some time past has been closed for a time."

It was not until January 18, 1860, that the *Herald* could report, "The following is the amount of school fund apportioned to Del Norte County at the late semi-annual apportionment. Crescent City District, 95 children; Rowdy Creek District, 21 children; total, 116; at 93 cents each, $107.88."*

I am informed by Mrs. Hugh Edwards of Oakland that, at about this time, her grandfather, Dr. Edgar Mason, donated a block of land to be used for school or civic purposes. The first school building served many years, as may be seen from the *Del Norte Record* of May 21, 1887, where a news item says that it had been "cut in two and moved to 2nd Street, the two larger portions facing each other on each side of the street. We are informed," the writer of the article continued, "that the larger or main portion is to be fitted up for the Crescent Social Club, which will be more commodious than the quarters they now occupy."

LIGHT THROUGH THE LYCEUM

Among other organizations concerned with refining processes in the new town of Crescent City was the lyceum. It met every Wednesday

---

*As reprinted in the *Del Norte Record* of March 17, 1894.

evening. The *Herald* of December 27, 1854, reporting on the meeting held on the twentieth inst., revealed the fact that the question "Would the annexation of the Sandwich Islands be expedient?" had been decided in the affirmative. According to the *Herald* of January 10, 1855, those in charge of lyceum meetings believed in keeping listeners "comfortably warm," by means of a stove, while culture was being instilled. There was a lecture on "Physiology" by Dr. N. E. Morey (see *Herald* of Jan. 17, 1855); two weeks later, the "Beneficial Results Arising from the Study of Grammar" were set forth by Dr. Mason.

Connected with the lyceum was a library association. The payment of $5 and a monthly fee of fifty cents entitled a person to share in the association's privileges, which were commended by the editor of the *Herald* on December 27, 1854; he remarked that it was "better by far to pass evenings with books, well selected, than in saloons and in places of carousal and dissipation." Advertisements, featuring "BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD WHOLESALE AND RETAIL John McCombe, messenger of Adams & Co.'s Express, will hereafter pay particular attention to supplying customers. . . ." were regularly inserted in the *Herald* (see, for example, Nov. 8, 1854). In its April 4, 1855, edition, the paper gave prominence to the following "communicated" piece:

> LIBRARIES. — The intelligence of a community is generally ascertained by finding out the manner in which they spend their leisure hours, and we find that the American people in general devote much of that time to reading newspapers, hence their almost universal intelligence. This, however, is not of the deepest kind: to store the mind with sound and substantial knowledge, it is necessary to have recourse to libraries of choice and standard works, embracing historical, philosophical, biographical, scientific and miscellaneous works. . . . In this, as well as in all other matters, a few persons are obliged to make the move; accordingly a few gentlemen last winter organized a library association in this city, and sent for a number of books. . . . They have received about 150 volumes, consisting of scientific works, history, biography, travels, etc. The books are in the hands of the librarian, at Dr. Mason's where any person, desirous of becoming a member, can see the constitution and by-laws, and have an opportunity of subscribing to the library.

KLAMATH LODGE NO. 41

Another institution, welcomed by the editors, was the I.O.O.F. An announcement in the July 25, 1855, edition of the *Herald* read as follows:

> A Lodge of the I.O.O.F. was instituted in this city July 20th, under the title of Klamath Lodge No. 41, by Right Worthy Grand Treasurer, A. S. Iredale. The

officers for the present term are J. P. Gordon, N. G.; E. Y. Naylor, v. G.; F. E. Weston, R. Sec'y; J. P. Haynes, Treas.

In the same edition, the editor says he is "happy to be able to record the establishment of a Lodge in our city, as it is one more proof that our young place is steadily advancing, and that our citizens are convinced of their permanency. We understand that notwithstanding the infancy of the institution its numbers are already respectable, and that it bids fair in a short time to become a credit to the place."

Newspaper, Church, School, Lyceum, Lodge: how could each become "a credit to the place" – be made to yield something worth prospecting for? To the editors of the Crescent City *Herald* in the 1850's, that would seem to have been the point.

Editor's Note. – S. Laird Swagert's "British Comment – As of 1948-1851" (*see* March 1953 Quarterly, pp. 81-86) will be continued in the September issue.

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

Name	Address	Proposed by
	Sustaining	
H. T. Birr, Jr.	San Francisco	Mrs. Evelyn Curro
	Active	
Ben Arndt	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Henry C. Breck	New York, N. Y.	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Paul Chatom, Jr.	San Francisco	George H. Cabaniss, Jr.
Archie M. Edwards	Goleta	Harold S. Chase
Mrs. Jack Edwards	Orinda	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Dean A. Eyre	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Don C. Fisher	Tulelake	L. L. Shaw
Harold B. Forsterer	Berkeley	Joseph R. Knowland
W. Harrison Godwin	Carmel	Warren R. Howell
E. Dixon Heise	San Francisco	Arthur W. Towne
Harry C. Hilp	San Francisco	Resuming membership
Mrs. Doris E. Lindfors	Congers, N. Y.	Mrs. William J. Reid
Alfred M. McCarty	San Francisco	James Abajian
Mrs. Edward M. McNamee	Tucson, Ariz.	Warren R. Howell
Thomas C. Mayhew	Berkeley	Mrs. William J. Reid
John Johnston Miller, Jr., M.D.	San Francisco	Resuming membership
Miss Margaret Mollins	Berkeley	Mrs. Arthur John Bancroft
James R. Moore	Orinda	George L. Harding
Museum of the American Indian	New York, N. Y.	Membership Committee
Mrs. Peter W. Owens	Los Angeles	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. Whitley Paulus	San Francisco	Porter Sesnon
Douglas M. Perham	Redwood City	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Pat M. Ryan	San Francisco	H. C. Moffitt, Jr., M.D.
John J. Schaffer	San Juan Capistrano	Warren R. Howell
Miss Veronica J. Sexton	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. Edwin William Stadtmuller	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Karl V. Steinbrugge	El Cerrito	Membership Committee
Miss Virginia E. Thickens	Berkeley	Mrs. Arthur John Bancroft
Mrs. William Ferree Timlow	San Francisco	Mrs. George L. Cadwalader

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial, arranged by year of gift.

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Ann May Perry
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman
William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
Julia Stamper Berman

Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Eleanor Smith Boone
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Glada V. Elden
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Emma T. Kessler
Eva M. Koch
Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Margaret N. Hart
Flodden W. Heron
Elizabeth Thacher Kent
Douglas Stuart Loud
Jean Parker McEwen
Irving Martin
George Lovett Merwin
C. O. G. Miller
John J. Newbegin
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Thomas L. Phillips
Ruth Loring Richardson
Warren Russell
Irving M. Scott, Jr.
Willard Brown Thorp
George F. Williamson
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata

1953

Frank H. Allen
Herbert Eugene Bolton
Marie Wilson Bradley
Paul W. Brannon
Arthur H. Breed
Katherine Thayer Cate
Frederick Herman Coon
Florence Osterero Cullen
Lillie E. Davis
Jerry W. DeCou
Mabel L. Holmes
Winifred M. Menzies
Helen Knox Merwin
Olga M. Meyer
Katharine Hutchinson Post
J. Sheldon Potter
Lynn Townsend White

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

For the Year Ending December 31, 1952

Your president is gratified to report that the year ended with the membership at its highest level to date, just under 1700. Most gratifying were the number of members carrying sustaining and patron memberships, thus helping to meet the increasing expenses of operation.

At the annual meeting on January 25, 1952, four new directors were elected: Homer D. Crotty of Los Angeles, William H. Orrick of San Francisco, Carl I. Wheat of Menlo Park, and Mrs. Dean Witter of San Francisco. Re-elected were K. K. Bechtel, Anson S. Blake, Allen L. Chickering, Ralph H. Cross, Sr., Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin, Aubrey Drury, Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Warren R. Howell, Joseph R. Knowland, and A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.

In accordance with the by-laws, officers were elected at the first meeting of the directors after the annual meeting: Joseph R. Knowland was chosen president; Francis P. Farquhar, Homer D. Crotty, and Ralph H. Cross, as 1st, 2d, and 3d vice-presidents respectively; Warren R. Howell, secretary; George L. Harding, treasurer. The directors held eleven monthly meetings, none, as is customary, being held in July.

There were nine meetings of the membership during the year, of which four were in San Francisco at the Palace Hotel. Speakers and their subjects were as follows:

January 25, Dr. Lynn T. White, Jr., "A Century of Mills College."

March 13, Elliot A. P. Evans, "William Dunbar Jewett, 1873-1926, a California Sculptor."

September 11, Hon. A. F. Bray, "Early California Cases."

November 13, George L. Gary, "Western Rendezvous of the Fur Trappers."

In addition to those held in San Francisco, were five special meetings:

(1) on February 12, annual open house at the Society's headquarters for some 400 members and their guests; (2) on April 18 and 19, a two-day meeting in Santa Barbara, the main events being a tour to Purisima and Santa Ines missions, and to the Danish church in Solvang, and a luncheon at which Carl I. Wheat addressed the gathering on "Santa Barbara's Place in California's Background"; (3) on May 8, the Society joined the City of Oakland in celebrating its centennial by meeting at the Athens Club for luncheon, followed by an address by Howard Willoughby on "From Quill and Pen to Typewriter – a Century of Literary Production in Oakland"; (4) on June 21, members were the guests of Col. Waddell F. Smith at "Pony Express Retreat," his home in San Rafael, where Ergo A. Majors, M.D., spoke on "Pony Express History"; and (5), through the courtesy of Dr. and Mrs.

Frederick P. Vickery, the final out-of-town meeting was held on October 11 at Villa Montalvo in Saratoga, the speaker being Clay Miller, who told of his "Impressions of the Character and Personality of Senator Phelan," at whose former home the meeting was held.

Under the editorship of Miss Gladys Wickson and the editorial advisory committee, the QUARTERLY completed its thirty-first year of publication; and the NOTES, written by Mrs. Edna Martin Parratt, its fourth. One staff change occurred during the year when Miss Agnes Fischer, office assistant, resigned to accept a position with the Hoover War Library at Stanford, and was replaced by Mrs. Coralia Reid.

Activities of directors and staff were many and varied. Mr. Cross and Mr. Drury spoke at meetings of other organizations throughout the state, thus bringing to the notice of their hearers the work and aims of the Society; as did also the managing director, Mrs. Parratt, who appeared on radio and television programs, and gave the main talk at a symposium of representatives of southern Oregon and northern California historical societies at Yreka. In honor of the meeting of the American Bar Association, exhibits from the Society's collections were prepared and displayed at the San Francisco Public Library and at the Bancroft-Whitney Co. Other exhibits were prepared for exhibition at Bullock & Jones, and at the Emporium in San Francisco.

In June, under the direction of Doctor Leonard, the Society participated in the annual celebration of San Francisco's "Founding Week," by cooperating with the citizens' committee in the following events: at ceremonies in the garden of Mission Dolores; at a luncheon at the Presidio, where the president presided and our member, Dr. Charles L. Camp, spoke; at a meeting in Golden Gate Park; and at an evening meeting, sponsored by the Friends of the [San Francisco Public] Library, where the Rev. John B. McGloin, S.J., told of "William A. Richardson, Founder of Yerba Buena, an Early Resident of San Francisco."

Another event in which the Society participated was the placing of a bronze plaque by bay-area members of the 13th Minnesota Volunteers, at the site of their encampment en route to Manila in 1898. Doctor Leonard and W. H. Lawrence were in charge of arrangements.

No publications were released during the year, but a new edition of Drake plate materials was prepared for publication under one cover. The Society was complimented in having *Bear Flag Lieutenant,* written by Fred B. Rogers and published in December 1951, selected for inclusion in the Rounce & Coffin Club's traveling exhibit of the best books produced in the west during that year.

Gifts to the Society's library, museum, and picture collection have become so numerous that it is no longer practicable to list each item individually in the QUARTERLY; for that reason, only large collections or items that are particularly rare, interesting, or unusual, can be described. Among the latter received during 1952 were: the William Keith painting presented in memory of her husband by Mrs. Duncan McDuffie; portraits of the Peralta family given by Mrs. Josefa Peralta Wilson; the diary of Joshua S. Vincent, member of Stevenson's Regiment, for 1846 and 1847, which came from Christopher D'Amanda of Exeter, N. H.; the Victorian wedding-silver of Howard Francis Hastings and Emma Cunningham, from Mrs. John Russel Hastings; the Gordon Greene Guiberson collection of early, framed lithographs of Sacramento and Stockton, given by Mr. Guiberson in memory of Mary Greene Guiberson; and, toward the end of the year, what has been termed by experts as "the finest known copy" of the Figueroa *Manifiesto,* which came, in honor of his wife Tamara, from Perc S. Brown.

Many fine acquisitions have resulted from contributions by members and friends to the "Book of Remembrance," on view in a prominent place in the Society's library; all acquisitions from these funds carry a special bookplate, stating in whose memory, and by whom, the contribution was made.

In closing, it is a pleasure to thank the chairmen and the personnel of the standing committees for enabling your president to make so favorable a report.

January 23, 1953

JOSEPH R. KNOWLAND

BEQUEST FORM

Members, or friends of members, who wish to make a bequest to the California Historical Society, so that at least part of their funds will perpetuate their names and interests in an organization dedicated to a permanent purpose, may use the following form:

I hereby give and bequeath to the California Historical Society, a corporation, the sum of..................

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

January 31, 1953

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher. Their full report for 1952 is on file at the headquarters of the Society, a summary being given below.

BALANCE SHEET

As at December 31, 1952

Assets

Cash —		
Commercial account	$ 3,021.60	
Savings account	4,596.67	
Office revolving fund	20.00	$ 7,638.27
U. S. Savings bonds, G		1,200.00
Accounts receivable —		
General fund	$ 124.20	
Publication fund	6.24	130.44
Inventory of publications		2,784.50
Prepaid insurance		78.19
Total assets*		$11,831.40

*Library collections and furniture and fixtures are not valued on the books.

Liabilities

Accounts payable —		
General fund	$ —	
Publication fund	—	$ —
Sales tax payable —		
State	28.29	
City	.27	28.56
Dues collected in advance		665.00
		$ 693.56

Funds

General fund	$ 1,390.58	
Publication fund	6,511.63	
Library fund	1,313.13	
Cavalier memorial fund	1,200.00	
A. S. Hallidie fund	722.50	11,137.84
Total liabilities and funds		$11,831.40

GENERAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1952

RECEIPTS		
Dues —		
Active members	$13,645.00	
Sustaining members	4,225.00	
Patron members	3,600.00	
Entrance fees	650.00	$22,120.00

Contributions –		
General	$ 1,517.88	
Special purposes	265.28	1,783.16
Sales of QUARTERLY		580.55
Sales of prints		329.86
Miscellaneous sales		295.45
Interest on savings account		84.24
Miscellaneous revenue		27.98
Total receipts		$25,221.24
EXPENDITURES		
Operating expenses –		
Salaries	$13,187.50	
Rent	2,400.00	
Telephone	119.64	
Office supplies	341.37	
Postage and express	51.86	
Furniture and equipment	325.00	
Insurance	285.40	
Library expenses	164.06	
Bad debts	(2.56)	
Miscellaneous	76.56	$16,948.83
Membership and publicity		106.53
Exhibit expenses		36.18
Luncheon expenses		233.33
QUARTERLY publication costs		6,821.14
Notes publication costs		809.71
Cost of print sales		255.21
Total expenditures		$25,210.93
Excess of receipts over expenditures		$ 10.31
Fund balance at beginning of year		1,380.27
Fund balance at end of year		$ 1,390.58

PUBLICATION FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1952

Sales of publications		$ 793.33
Less Cost of sales –		
Beginning inventory	$ 3,293.90	
Purchases	—	
	$ 3,293.90	
Less Ending inventory	2,784.50	509.40
Gross profit from sales		$ 283.93
Less Selling expense		64.53
Net profit from sales		$ 219.40
Interest on savings account		27.89
Net gain to fund		$ 247.29
Fund balance at beginning of year		6,264.34
Fund balance at end of year		$ 6,511.63

LIBRARY FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1952

Receipts

Sales of duplicate books	$ —	
Contributions	588.00	
Interest on savings account	17.04	
Total receipts		$ 605.04
Less Expenditures —		
Purchases		706.34
Net increase (decrease) in fund		(101.30)
Fund balance at beginning of year		1,414.43
Fund balance at end of year		$ 1,313.13

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT FOR 1952

During the year 1952, large quantities of valuable source materials were accessioned and made available for use in the Society's library, descriptions of some of the more important gifts, and lists of all donors, being printed in the QUARTERLIES for the same period.

Monetary gifts in memory of family and friends have frequently supplied the means for purchase of manuscripts, county histories, and city directories, for which funds were not otherwise available. There has also been an increasing number of our members and friends who have called upon the librarian to select from the libraries and papers of estates, however modest, items of interest to the Society. Some of our rarest pamphlets, photographs, programs, and business catalogs and bills have been obtained in this manner. By the organized accumulation of these materials, we are enabled to assemble data illustrating the continuous history of business firms, churches, lodges, and other organizations and societies. Then, too, the Society's status as a non-profit, educational institution makes it possible, sometimes, for these gifts to be appraised, thus alleviating the tax burden of the donors.

In a large way, the Society's state-wide library committee, energetically headed by Ralph H. Cross, Sr., has been a great aid in bringing the collection into closer contact with the various sections of California. The very name of the Society indicates the extent of its collection, and we emphasize the importance of this gathering of materials in the farther limits of California in order to make them available in a central location.

As a result of the growth in library facilities through these gifts, 1952 has brought increased numbers of students, writers, and members of business firms to our door; consequently the credit line, "From the Collections of the California Historical Society," comes more and more frequently to the attention of the public.

Each year enhances the reputation of our library far beyond the boundaries of the state, but this report would be inadequate if mention were not made of pressing problems which are affecting our growth and efficiency. Increased numbers of accessions have caused a corresponding increase in equipment costs, and in the space and time required to insure adequately the proper storage and use of these basic historical materials. To this end, attention must be given to a binding fund; to the housing of the map collection; to the services of a part-time library assistant; and to the regular availability of storage containers.

JAMES DE T. ABAJIAN

MEETINGS

Speaker: Mrs. Carol Green Wilson

Date: January 23, 1953

At our request, the speaker sent us the following abstract of her "Adventures of a Botanist," with which she entertained the members and their guests at the annual meeting:

Today I have come to relay to you a few of the enjoyable moments I've had since the remark of an acquaintance led me to drive up the Lombard Street hill in San Francisco, to call on Miss Alice Eastwood in her old-fashioned cottage, half-way between Polk and Larkin streets. Day after day, either there or sitting in my car on the Marina, I have seen through her eyes the development of San Francisco and the state during the years she has served both. Her reminiscent accounts have shown me Twin Peaks carpeted with wildflowers, or, across town, where they poked between the cobbles on Nob Hill. I have wandered mentally with her through old Laurel Hill Cemetery, sharing her pleasure in the discovery of a creeping manzanita which she named *Arctostaphylos franciscana.*

Just sixty years ago this month, the January 1893 issue of *Zoe*, a natural history magazine which had begun publication in San Francisco in March 1890, announced that Miss Alice Eastwood, formerly of Denver, Colo., had succeeded Mrs. Katharine Brandegee as curator of botany at the California Academy of Sciences and as acting-editor of *Zoe.* She had already been on the academy's staff for parts of the two previous years. Thus she has served it for sixty-one of the hundred-year span being celebrated here today.

The young woman, who was then assuming departmental responsibilities, was born in a suburb of Toronto on January 19, 1859—the year, incidentally, in which Darwin's *Origin of Species* announced to the world a change in scientific thinking. Left motherless at six, Miss Eastwood's early years were filled with hardship. She was fourteen when her father sent for her to leave the Oshawa Convent, in which he had placed her and her younger sister, and to join him in Denver. For a time she was a nursemaid in the family of a wealthy cattle owner, and, the first summer, accompanied them to the Colorado mountains. Her father re-married and Alice Eastwood was able to enter school again. Fortunately for her, a grade-school teacher recognized her capacity for knowledge; when she graduated as valedictorian of the 1879 class, East Denver High School, she had in her possession an appointment to teach in the Denver schools. So she spent ten winters in town, teaching whatever subject was needed, and the summers in the Rockies among columbine, Indian paintbrush and mariposa lilies. (See *A Popular Flora of Denver, Colorado* [San Francisco: Zoe Publ. Co., 1893].) She had the pleasure in June 1888 of guiding the English naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace, up Graymount, referred to by him in *My Life* (London, 1905), p. 798; *see also* pp. 155-56, where he mentions one of the "lady teachers" as having shown him the "dried plants she had collected on Pike's Peak."

Her beginning salary of $50 a month at the Denver High School was gradually doubled. Thrifty, energetic, and capable, she saved enough, so that her savings, added to those of her father, enabled the Eastwoods to invest in a lot in downtown Denver; when it was sold at the height of the boom, they netted $20,000, of which half belonged to her. She was not yet thirty, but she felt, she says, like a millionaire.

In the winter of 1890-91, she came to San Diego. Coronado was a haven of shrubs and wildflowers, and johnny-jump-ups grew in the streets of San Diego. With her lunch of black olives—bought cheaply by the gallon—and a pail in which to store her specimens, she explored the mesa; then, in the spring, she traveled northward, stopping to admire the poppy fields of Altadena, and the madrones and redwoods of Santa Cruz. She arrived in San Francisco in mid-May 1891, to find the Academy of Sciences in the midst of moving into its new headquarters on Market Street between Fifth and Sixth—next door to where the Emporium now stands. People were bustling about, preparing a flower show to celebrate the opening of the building.

Alice Eastwood did not linger there as might have been expected. She hastened across the room to the impressive marble stairway and climbed to the sixth-floor botanical workrooms. She had come to call on Townshend Stith Brandegee, a botanist of note, who had been with Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden during his survey of Colorado. Her ambition was to become a botanical writer, and it was of the utmost importance to discuss her future with this man, who, with his wife, Katherine (then curator of botany at the California Academy of Sciences), published the magazine *Zoe*. The California Academy of Sciences pioneered in recognizing women scientists. In August 1853, Dr. Albert Kellogg, one of its founders, had introduced a quaintly-worded resolution to the effect that the academy highly approved of the aid of female scientists in every department of natural history and earnestly invited their cooperation.

After a few days in San Francisco, Miss Eastwood returned to Colorado, to prepare the article on Denver flora cited above. Of mariposa lilies, she says that they speak "a wonderfully enticing language. . . . To see the different kinds of insects hovering over these plants, alighting on the flowers and crawling slowly through the viscid hairs of the honey glands is to understand how this race of lovely hybrids came to be. Not in vain do these flowers set off their beauty and store their sweets."

And not in vain did Alice Eastwood correspond with her new scientific friends. That summer the Brandegees stopped in Denver en route home from an eastern trip, in order to see the collection Miss Eastwood had made during her summers in the Colorado mountains. They were so impressed with the orderliness and the completeness of her herbarium that they invited her to come back to San Francisco – at a salary of $50 a month – to help assemble their own plant specimens.

She spent a few uncomfortable months in San Francisco, occupying an unheated room on Van Ness Avenue near Hayes by night, and shivering by day in the academy workroom with its inadequate gas stove. She put on flannel underwear for the first time since her childhood in Canada. In the spring she returned to Colorado. Then another letter came from the Brandegees. She could have the full $75 a month salary, and they would *donate their time*, as his income was sufficient for both himself and his wife. The chance to be near an institution with such facilities was too important for Alice Eastwood to refuse; in December 1892 she came back to stay – and to write. Between 1897 and 1898 the academy published her *Studies in the Herbarium and Field*, as Nos. 2

and 3, Volume I, Series 3, of their *Proceedings.* Included were two papers on the manzanitas of Mt. Tamalpais.

The expenses of her trips in quest of plant material for the arboretum were considerably reduced by a pass, secured for her by Mrs. Brandegee, on the Southern Pacific R.R. Even so, there was little left, out of a salary of $75 a month, for any luxuries of travel. And there were difficulties after she left the railroad line: difficulties connected with the terrain, from climbing snow-covered peaks like Mt. Shasta, to trudging along miles of hot, dry trails in the foothills.

From the beginning of her association with the California Academy of Sciences, her quick intelligence, assiduous work habits, and friendly ways won her a special place among the more or less elderly scholars who made up the staff. One of these was Dr. H. H. Behr (member of the academy since 1854) – "the most learned man I have ever known," she says of him; and Gustave Eisen, a versatile Swedish scientist, who used to stop by her desk to discuss the interrelation of entomology and botany; for instance, caprification, whereby, through importation of the blastophaga – a minute wasp present in the fruit of the wild or Capri fig – the cultivated Smyrna fig, leading commercial variety for drying, could be properly pollinated and come to maturity.

In 1902 appeared Miss Eastwood's *New Species from the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California,* published by the academy; and, three years afterwards, *A Handbook of the Trees of California,* No. 9 of the academy's *Occasional Papers.* She became one of the first life members of the Save-the-Redwoods League, and part of the credit for preserving the azaleas near Arcata belongs to her.

Alice Eastwood is not only a mountain and foothill woman. In 1929, as No. 14 of their *Proceedings* (4th ser., Vol. XVIII), the academy published her *Studies in the Flora of Lower California and Adjacent Islands.* Nor was this the first time she had done work on island flora; her "Notes on the Plants of San Nicolas Island" was included in *Studies in the Herbarium and Field,* referred to above. Two years later came her *New Species of Plants from Western North America,* as No. 5, Volume XX of the *Proceedings,* series 4.

Golden Gate Park and its arboretum were to be beautiful, but they had to have practical value as well. To bring this about, Miss Eastwood worked with John McLaren in collecting and testing plants from all over the earth, to find out those that would prosper in San Francisco. She began early to bring together a botanical library, at the same time undertaking to add to it material useful to students of botany, namely, *A Key to the Common Families of Flowering Plants in California* and *A Guide for the Analysis and Description of Flowering Plants*, published in San Francisco in 1934 by the California Botanical Club.

The remarkable feature of the Golden Gate International Exposition at Treasure Island in 1939, known as the "Magic Carpet," evolved from her interest in succulents, originally promoted through her friendship with Charles Abraham, North Beach nurseryman. She passed her interest on to one of her gardener-class students, Eric Walther, now in charge of the park's arboretum, who searched among the books of the library for further information, and nurtured cuttings given him by Alice Eastwood's friend of many years, Miss Kate Sessions of San Diego.

One of Miss Eastwood's greatest contributions to science was unpremeditated on her part, and related to no over-all program on the part of the academy or any other organization. It took place on a day in the flowery month of April 1906, when, with the help of Robert Porter, she climbed up six floors to the academy's botanical workroom, by placing her feet between the bronze balusters of the marble stairs, otherwise wrecked by the quake. Without her daring, nothing would have been saved of forty-three years of collecting. Her account is given in the May 25, 1906, *Science*, in which she says that she did not mourn her own destroyed work, for it had been a joy to her while she was doing it, and she could have the same joy in starting again; but she mourned its loss to the scientific world.

Another very real loss at the time of the April eighteenth earthquake was in connection with her *A Handbook of the Trees of California*, which was at the bindery and was consumed in the flames. A few copies, specially bound for her friends, had been mailed. Through the courtesy of Judge Alden Ames of San Francisco, I have one of them here today —one that belonged to his aunt, Mrs. Frances Ames of Cambridge, Mass. Miss Eastwood says that she has always regretted hanging her lunch-bag on a tusk of the academy's mastodon before she made impromptu use of the balusters that morning. If she had had the bag with her, she could have used it to carry to safety the original Albert Kellogg drawings of California trees and shrubs reproduced in the book. . . .

In 1950 she was invited to Sweden, to serve as an honorary president of the Seventh International Botanical Congress. She was ninety-one, but she flew to Stockholm alone. Last Monday she celebrated her ninety-fourth birthday with greetings from many distant places, including a radiogram from her associates in Stockholm. Her most recent adventure—an operation for cataract last month—is the only reason she is not in her accustomed place at this annual meeting of the Society, to which she has belonged since 1924. But she sent her greetings and said to tell you that, when her new glasses are adjusted, she will be back among us. "Of course," she remarked, "my eye will heal. I've always been a healthy person."

NOTE.—Reports of meetings, February-June 1953, are scheduled to appear in the September QUARTERLY.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

March 1 to June 1, 1953

Atherton-Eyre Californiana

In memory of Florence Atherton Eyre, her sons Edward E. and Dean A. Eyre have presented Californiana from the libraries of Faxon Dean Atherton and Edward Engle Eyre, prominent California pioneers. Indicative of the caliber of this gift are such titles as Duflot de Mofras' *Exploration du Territoire de l'Orégon, des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille* . . . (Paris, 1844); Atlas of La Pérouse's *Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde* . . . (Paris, 1797); Scammon's *The Marine Mammals of the North-Western Coast of North America* . . . (San Francisco, 1874); and Davis' *Sixty Years in California* . . . (San Francisco, 1889). Numerous photographs, maps, and family memorabilia are also included in the gift.

Charles J. Brenham Portraits

Charles J. Brenham was twice mayor of San Francisco in the early 1850's. Through a bequest from his daughter, Miss Laura J. Brenham, the Society is the recipient of a handsome daguerreotype of Brenham as a young man and a Watkins photograph of him in later life.

Reginaldo F. del Valle Papers, 1829-1932

Mrs. Henry F. Grady has presented a selection of the papers of her father, Reginaldo F. del Valle, an important figure in state and national Democratic party activities and in Los Angeles civic affairs for more than fifty years. Accompanying the gift are approximately 200 photographs of members of the del Valle and Caleb E. White families; scenes and family gatherings at Camulos, the del Valle rancho in Ventura County; and members of various early Spanish families of Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Sorbier Family Papers

In the December 1952 Quarterly, page 377, acknowledgment was made of valuable items from the estate of Miss Cecile M. Sorbier, San Francisco. Additional papers have now been received through Messrs. Frederic Morris and George Cabaniss. Their content reflects women's suffrage, civic, and Roman Catholic activities in San Francisco from 1895 to 1922. Numerous photographs not only illustrate these activities, but also show members of the city's French colony in the 1860's and 1870's.

Other materials of great interest have been contributed by many friends in many places:

- Alpine
  - Mrs. Beatrice La Force
- Arlington, Va.
  - Mrs. Lloyd Swift
- Atherton
  - Edward E. Eyre
- Berkeley
  - Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
  - Francis S. Foote
  - Mrs. Helen L. Green Halloran
  - Hobart M. Lovett
  - Mrs. Rogers Parratt
  - Mrs. Clarence E. Shuey
  - Chester W. Skaggs
  - F. F. Thomas, Jr.
  - Mrs. John Hudson Thomas
- Boston, Mass.
  - Edward Cunningham
- Boyes Hot Springs
  - H. E. Rensch
- Caldwell, Idaho
  - Caxton Printers, Ltd.
- Eureka
  - Howard B. Melendy
- Fresno
  - Academy of California Church History
- Fulton, N. Y.
  - Leon C. Baldwin
- Gasquet
  - Mrs. Esther R. Smith
- Grass Valley
  - Mrs. Edna D. Sampson
- Hat Creek
  - Mrs. Emma E. Wilcox
- Irvington
  - Gordon B. Greb
- Kentfield
  - F. Bourn Hayne
- Los Angeles
  - Ezekiel Brownstone
  - Joseph McMurry
  - W. W. Robinson
  - Title Insurance & Trust Company
  - Justin G. Turner
- Nevada City
  - H. P. Davis
- Oakland
  - Mrs. Samuel L. Ayer
  - Mrs. Claire E. Stuart Caudel
  - Harold C. Holmes
  - Joseph R. Knowland
  - Vera Derrick La Claustra
  - Mrs. W. V. McBeth
  - Augustin S. Macdonald
  - Mrs. Arthur S. Maloon
  - Albert E. Norman
  - Henry Raybourne
- Oroville
  - Miss Florence D. Boyle
- Pacific Grove
  - Miss Adelaide Taylor
- Palo Alto
  - Mrs. Everett M. Calderwood
- Pasadena
  - Andrew T. Cassell

Piedmont
- Mrs. Homer H. Mitten
- Edwin L. Oliver

Reading, Pa.
- Paul E. Glase

Redding
- Mrs. Helen Hogue

Ross
- Mrs. B. K. Dunshee

Rough and Ready
- Andy Rogers

Sacramento
- C. M. Goethe
- J. Roy Jones, M.D.
- Aubrey Neasham

Salinas
- Mrs. Helen B. Currie
- Mrs. Donald Davies

San Andreas
- Lirrel Starling

San Bernardino
- L. Burr Belden

San Diego
- Ben F. Dixon
- Mrs. Henry G. Fenton

San Francisco
- James Abajian
- K. K. Bechtel
- Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs
- Laura J. Brenham Estate
- George H. Cabaniss, Jr.
- Francis J. Corbett
- Dean A. Eyre
- Francis P. Farquhar
- Morton R. Gibbons, Jr., M.D.
- Mrs. Henry F. Grady
- W. L. Green
- Mrs. Amy Greer
- Carroll T. Harris
- Warren R. Howell
- Mrs. James Jenkins
- Edgar M. Kahn
- Miss Florence R. Keene
- Lawton R. Kennedy
- Edward D. Kneass
- Gilbert H. Kneiss
- Walter Landor and Associates
- Alexander T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
- William H. Lewis
- Mrs. Hans Lisser
- Alfred M. McCarty
- Donald McPherson
- Parker S. Maddux
- J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
- Bruno P. Maraccini
- Mrs. Elsa Melville
- James K. Moffitt
- Mrs. Marion Montague
- Frederic Morris
- Miss Helen Nivens
- Mrs. William J. Reid
- Herbert K. Reynolds
- Ronald Rolph
- San Francisco Bank
- *San Francisco Chronicle*
- San Francisco Ladies' Protection and Relief Society
- Porter Sesnon
- M. C. Sloss
- Thomas Stapleton
- William E. Waste
- Mrs. George Osborne Wilson
- Miss Lottie G. Woods
- Edgar T. Zook

San Leandro
- Mrs. E. P. Schlichtmann
- Reginald R. Stuart

San Lorenzo
- Mrs. Ivy Miller
- St. Felicitas Parish

San Rafael
- Mrs. George U. Hind
- Col. Cullen Jones

Santa Ana
  Harry L. Hansen
Santa Barbara
  Mrs. Donohoe Carter
  Mrs. W. F. Kelly
Sausalito
  Mrs. Isabel Porter Collins
Sonora
  Mrs. Ruth A. Newport
Stanford
  Charles McNavin
Ventura
  R. B. Lewis
Virginia City, Nev.
  Lucius Beebe
Visalia
  Miss Annie R. Mitchell
Warwick, N. Y.
  Miss Hylah Hasbrouck
Watsonville
  Mrs. Doris Weber
Woodland
  Fred Meier
Woodside
  Loring Pickering

Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Bauer, Helen. California Rancho Days. Garden City, Doubleday [c1953] 128 p. illus., maps. $3.00.

Beans, Rowena. "Inasmuch . . ."; the One Hundred-Year History of the San Francisco Ladies' Protection and Relief Society, 1853-1953. Edited by Carol Green Wilson. San Francisco [The Society] 1953. ix, 83 p. illus., ports. [Privately printed]

Chapin, Edward Lloyd. A Selected Bibliography of Southern California Maps. Berkeley, University of California, 1953. 136 p. front. $3.00.

Cowan, Robert Ernest. A Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific West, 1510-1906. Together With the Text of John W. Dwinelle's Address on the Acquisition of California by the United States of America. New ed. With an Introduction by Henry R. Wagner and Additional Notes by Robert G. Cowan. Columbus [Ohio] Long's College Book Co., 1952. xxxvii, 279 p. $15.00.

Eberly, Gordon Saul. Arcadia, City of the Santa Anita. Claremont, Saunders Press. 1953. 239 p. illus., ports. $3.95.

Farquhar, Francis P. The Books of the Colorado River & the Grand Canyon; a Selective Bibliography. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1953. xi, 75 p. front. $5.00.

Harrison, Benjamin S. Fortune Favors the Brave; the Life and Times of Horace Bell, Pioneer Californian. Los Angeles, Ritchie, 1953. xvi, 307 p. illus., ports. $7.50.

Illustrations of Contra Costa Co., California, With Historical Sketches. Oakland, Smith & Elliott, 1878. [Martinez, Contra Costa County Historical Society, c1952] 54 p. illus., maps. $12.50.

Isaacs, A. C. An Ascent of Mount Shasta: 1856. Introduction by Francis P. Farquhar. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1952. 22 p. $5.00.

Jocelyn, Stephen Perry. Mostly Alkali; a Biography [of Stephen Perry Jocelyn, Sr.] Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton, 1953. xvi, 436 p. illus., maps, ports. $10.00.

Jones, J. Roy. Saddle Bags in Siskiyou. Yreka, News-Journal Print Shop, 1953. xii, 417 p. illus., maps, ports. [Apply to publisher]

Kahn, Edgar M. Andrew Smith Hallidie; a Tribute to a Pioneer California Industrialist. Foreword by Carl I. Wheat. San Francisco [The Author] 1953. 33 p. [Privately printed]

La Force, Beatrice. Alpine History; a Brief Account of Early Days. [Alpine, San Diego County] c1952. 22l. illus., ports. 50 cents.

Melendy, Howard B. The Construction of Humboldt County Court House at Eureka, California, 1883-1887. [Eureka, Chamber of Commerce, 1953] 14 p. illus. [Apply to publisher]

Sherer, Caroline Shaw, comp. How Much He Remembered; the Life of John Calvin Sherer, 1852-1949. [n.p.] 1952. 64 p. illus., ports. [Apply to author, Glendale]

Smith, Esther Ruth. The History of Del Norte County, California . . . Including the Story of Its Pioneers With Many of Their Personal Narratives. Introduction by Oscar Lewis. Oakland, Holmes, 1953. 224 p. illus., map, ports. $10.50.

Stuart, Reginald R. and Grace D. How Firm a Foundation; a Centennial History of the First Methodist Church, San Leandro, California. [San Leandro] First Methodist Church, 1953. 112 [12] p. illus., ports. $5.00.

Webb, Edith Buckland. Indian Life At the Old Missions. Foreword by F. W. Hodge. Los Angeles, Warren Lewis, 1952. 326 p. illus., plates, ports. $20.00.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Lawrence Kinnaird (A.B., Univ. Michigan, 1915) is a native of Williamstown, West Virginia. He was in France with the U. S. air service during World War I, and in 1919 had the opportunity of graduate work at the University of Grenoble. Back in the United States, Dr. Kinnaird completed the requirements for the Ph.D. degree (1928) under Herbert E. Bolton. The years 1932-36 were spent in teaching history at the San Francisco State College; then came his appointment to the University of California, where he is now professor of history. A three-year term (1942-45), as cultural attaché at the U. S. embassy in Santiago, Chile, gave him on-the-ground familiarity with South American affairs.

Mrs. Frances Turner (Willis V.) McBeth's maternal grandfather, John R. Nickel, came to Del Norte County as a young man of eighteen. He built up a prosperous dairy business in Elk Valley, and also went into merchandising in Crescent City. Mrs. McBeth, a graduate (1922) of the San Jose Normal School, taught in Del Norte, Siskiyou, and Stanislaus counties before her marriage. She is the author of *Lower Klamath Country* (Berkeley, 1950).

William Fletcher Thompson, Jr., was born in San Francisco in 1929. He took both his A.B. and M.A. degrees at Stanford University, and is now at the University of Wisconsin studying for his Ph.D. in American history, specifically, pictorial propaganda during the Civil War.

Blanche Collet (Mrs. Henry R.) Wagner, born in Grenoble, France, is the daughter of Etienne Collet, sculptor. After his death, Mrs. Wagner came to America with her mother and brother. This was only the beginning of her travels, for her marriage to Dr. Wagner started a new circuit of places visited in Europe and the Americas. She has managed to keep on with her writing, however; for example, *Tales of Mayaland*, and a translation of Luis González Obregón's *The Streets of Mexico*. Mrs. Wagner follows her family's tradition of interest in design and has to her great credit paintings of headdresses, as worn by forty-four queens through the centuries.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Henry C. Breck (U. C., 1914) was born in Oakland, son of Samuel and Florence M. Coffin Breck. Besides wide experience in banking in this country, he acted as assistant to the U. S. financial representative at the Paris peace conference in 1919, and spent two years (1924-26) in Berlin as executive assistant in connection with reparation payments. This professional work was preceded by service in the 91st Division, U. S. Infantry, 1917-19.

Miss Margaret Griffith, a specialist in the exacting study of genealogical records, is state chairman and editor, "California Pioneer Papers," D.A.R.; and state chairman of the restoration committee, Daughters of Founders and Patriots of

America. She is the compiler of "Stephen Hopkins of the Mayflower," from the manuscript of the late Timothy Hopkins; this was published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1948-51.

Since 1911, Marion A. Grosse, professor of industrial education, Fresno State College, has been collecting pictures of early-day lumbering (1870, on) in the Sierra Nevada, from Mariposa south through Fresno into Tulare County. He has had them copied and made into about 500 slides, with a commentary for each picture. Mr. Grosse calls it "a very interesting hobby"; but it seems distinctly more than that to us.

Herman F. Hahn (b. Chicago, 1902) attended New Trier Township High School, Kenilworth, Ill. (The original Trier, by the way, is on the Moselle River, and is said to be the most ancient town of Germany.) For the last thirty years, Mr. Hahn has been in the banking and securities business in Los Angeles, and is now president of the Union Bank and Trust Co. there.

Santa Catalina Island, California, birthplace of Mrs. Catherine MacLean (Oliver Stuart) Loud, is the subject of her present research. Her father was the late John Douglas MacLean, a native of Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, who came to Avalon, California, in March 1888 and established himself in the building and contracting business. Mrs. Loud's mother, the late Winnie Sarah Morris MacLean (daughter of the Rev. George Morris of Avalon) was born in Tahiti, Society Islands.

James Rolph Moore (U. C., 1933) is a San Franciscan by birth, son of Joseph Alexander and Mildred T. Rolph Moore. In California the Moores trace their ancestry back to Joseph and Anne Castle Moore, who reached this coast aboard the *Ajax*, September 27, 1849. The Society's new member is vice-president and director of the Moore Dry Dock Co., and is now in his second term as president of the Society of California Pioneers.

Families long prominent in the artistic, military, and professional life of San Francisco are represented in Hooper O'Sullivan, who was born in San Francisco in 1922 (U. C., 1943, delayed until 1947). As the son of Maj. Gen. Curtis D. and Helen Hooper O'Sullivan, he counts as his grandparents Joseph G. (banker) and Mary Pardow Hooper; and Denis (Irish tenor) and Elizabeth Curtis (artist and writer) O'Sullivan; and as great-grandparents George Hooper and C. D. O'Sullivan I, both Forty-niners. The late Mary ("Molly") O'Sullivan (Mrs. Oscar) Sutro was his great aunt. Her sister, Miss Ellen O'Sullivan, lives in Carmel. A soldier like his father, Hooper O'Sullivan, though only thirty-one, is now a major, and has a military record to be proud of. In World War II, he served in North Africa, and in the Mediterranean and European theaters of war. At present Major O'Sullivan is with the 49th Infantry, California National Guard.

(Notes on new members will be continued in Sept. QUARTERLY.*)*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Joseph R. Knowland, *President*
Francis P. Farquhar, *First Vice-President*
Homer D. Crotty, *Second Vice-President*
Ralph H. Cross, *Third Vice-President*
Warren R. Howell, *Secretary*
George L. Harding, *Treasurer*

K. K. Bechtel
Allen L. Chickering
Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Aubrey Drury
A. T. Leonard, Jr.
Robert Watt Miller
William H. Orrick
Carl I. Wheat
Mrs. Dean Witter

Editorial Advisory Committee: Allen L. Chickering, *Chairman;* Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter, *Assistant Chairman;* Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Edgar M. Kahn, Miss Adele Ogden.

Committee on Special Publications: Francis P. Farquhar, *Chairman;* Allen L. Chickering, William W. Clary, George L. Harding, Miss Caroline Wenzel, Carl I. Wheat, Lynn T. White, Jr.

Committee on Membership and Publicity: Aubrey Drury, *Chairman;* Henry F. Dutton, Edgar M. Kahn, Joseph R. Knowland, George H. Kress, Miss Else Schilling.

Committee on Luncheon Meetings: Aubrey Drury, *Chairman;* Anson S. Blake, Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Henry C. Collins, Mrs. James Jenkins, Mrs. Gerald D. Kennedy, Loren B. Taber, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann.

Committee on Rooms and Exhibits: Warren Howell, *Chairman;* Mrs. A. J. Bancroft, A. T. Leonard, Jr., Miss Frances M. Molera, Albert Shumate, Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Committee on Historic Names and Sites: A. T. Leonard, Jr., *Chairman;* Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Clarence Coonan, Ralph H. Cross, Edgar B. Jessup.

Committee on Library and Gifts: Ralph H. Cross, *Chairman;* Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Elbert S. Conner, Miss Edith Coulter, Augustin S. Macdonald, Edward Porter Pfingst, A. T. Shine, Paul A. Sinsheimer, Chester W. Skaggs, Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Committee on Finance: George L. Harding, *Chairman;* Kenneth K. Bechtel, Garner A. Beckett, Allen L. Chickering, Colbert Coldwell, Francis P. Farquhar, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann, Mrs. Dean Witter.

Patron Members

Mrs. Wallace Alexander
Miss Edith W. Allyne
Miss Lucy H. Allyne
K. K. Bechtel
F. W. Beinecke
Mrs. Irving Berlin
Anson S. Blake
Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs
George T. Cameron
Mrs. William Cavalier
Allen L. Chickering
William W. Crocker
Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Edward A. Dickson
Mrs. Edward L. Doheny
O. D. Donnell, Jr.
Sidney M. Ehrman
Mrs. Sidney M. Ehrman
Charles Elsey
James Flood
Hon. Louis F. Goodman
Edward H. Heller
Miss Margaret A. Jacks
Charles Kendrick
Ralph B. Lloyd
Parker S. Maddux
Mrs. Stuart Middlemas
Henry D. Nichols
Mrs. William P. Roth
Mrs. Henry Potter Russell
Miss Else Schilling
Rudolph Schilling
Mrs. Walter Schilling
Porter Sesnon
Gene M. Tansey
Tallant Tubbs
Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Miss Johanna Volkmann
Willard O. Wayman
Mrs. Dean Witter

Sustaining Members

Mrs. John Payson Adams
Mrs. Merritt Adamson
Mrs. Leonora Wood Armsby
John B. F. Bacon
Mrs. Willis R. Bailard
Wakefield Baker
Paul Bancroft
Philip Bancroft
Bank of America
Otto Barkan, M.D.
Garner A. Beckett
Mrs. Frank Bennett
Victor J. Bergeron
Donald C. Biggs
H. T. Birr, Jr.
Nathaniel Blaisdell
Leon Bocqueraz
Joseph E. Bolt
Mrs. James G. Boswell
John D. Bradley
J. R. Brehm
George L. Browning, M.D.
Mrs. Carlton Bryan
Mrs. Henry Cartan
Selah Chamberlain, Jr.
Harold S. Chase
Bruce Church
Ted K. Clark
Dwight L. Clarke
Mrs. Edmond D. Coblentz
W. R. Coe
George W. Cohen
Colbert Coldwell
Mrs. Isabel P. Collins
Mrs. Henria P. Compton
Peter Cook, Jr.
Arthur E. Corder
Frederick C. Cordes, M.D.
Miss Etta Cornell
Mrs. Talmage Burton Crane
Ralph H. Cross
Homer D. Crotty
Mrs. Arthur D. Curtner
J. R. Dalziel
Mrs. Blake Darling
Walter Darling
Mrs. Howard Derby
Arthur C. Devlin
Lloyd Dinkelspiel
Mrs. Hugh T. Dobbins
Washington Dodge
Miss Christine Donohoe
T. G. Douglas
Aubrey Drury
Henry F. Dutton
Stanly A. Easton
Mrs. Camille J. Ehrenfels
Amos W. Elliott
H. L. Ellis
Herbert Eloesser
Carl E. Erickson
Mrs. Milton H. Esberg
Edward E. Eyre
Francis P. Farquhar
James Farraher
Paul B. Fay
Frank L. Fenton
Mrs. Henry G. Fenton
Mrs. Marshal H. Fisher
Roland C. Foerster
B. A. Forsterer
Harlan D. Fowler
Mrs. Frank W. Fuller, Jr.
William A. Gannon, M.D.
Ross H. Gast
W. T. George
Mrs. Morton R. Gibbons
Mrs. Guy Gilchrist
Mrs. Frank R. Girard
C. M. Goethe
Gordon D. Gollan
Albert H. Gorie
Mrs. Joseph T. Grace
Paul Grafe

Sustaining Members (continued)

Everett D. Graff
Daniel J. Grant, Jr.
John E. Grant
Donald M. Gregory
Mrs. Donald Gregory
Col. Allen Griffin
Berthold Guggenhime
Gordon G. Guiberson
Mrs. Horace Guittard
Edward T. Haas
Mrs. Edward F. Haas
Gordon G. Hair
Richard C. Ham
George L. Harding
Carroll T. Harris
Robert P. Hastings
Harold J. Havre
Mrs. A. L. Hawley, Jr.
Miss Lucy B. Heiskell
Mrs. E. S. Heller
Mrs. I. W. Hellman, Jr.
Griffith Henshaw
George Herrington
George Hoberg
Mrs. C. H. Holbrook
Harold C. Holmes
Miss Marian O. Hooker
Warren R. Howell
James J. Hunter
William M. Irvine, Jr.
J. B. S. Johnson
Otis R. Johnson
Willard W. Keith
Harold A. Kellogg
Mrs. Gerald D. Kennedy
Lawton R. Kennedy
Alexander King
Mrs. Robert C. Kirkwood
Joseph R. Knowland
William F. Knowland
Frederick J. Koster
Charles F. Lambert
Mrs. Charles F. Lambert
John H. Lawrence, M.D.
D. Ramsey Lawson
A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. W. J. Lindenberger
George D. Louderback
Harvey B. Lyon
Florence McAuliffe
Atholl McBean
Mrs. Atholl McBean
F. P. McCann
A. S. Macdonald
Col. Harold L. Mack
Garret McEnerney II
Mrs. Albert B. McKee
Rev. Thomas J. McKeon
J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
George M. Mardikian
Robert D. Marshall
Walter S. Martin
William Wallace Mein
John L. Merrill
G. Willard Miller
Robert Watt Miller
Mrs. Maxwell C. Milton
Mrs. Randolph Huntington Miner
Mrs. Amy Requa Mitten
James K. Moffitt
Miss Frances M. Molera
Mrs. E. G. Montgomery
Mrs. Philip Morse
S. F. B. Morse
Dwight Murphy
M. C. Nathan
John Francis Neylan
E. R. Niemela
Jack Okell
Edwin Letts Oliver
Mrs. James R. Page
Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
T. M. Parks
Charles P. Partridge
T. S. Petersen
Mrs. H. D. Pillsbury
John E. Porter
Richard S. Rheem
Irving S. Rogers
Francis William Rubke
Stuart R. Rugg
San Mateo Public Library
Mrs. Thomas Schnoor
Addison Schuster
Frank Schwabacher
James H. Schwabacher
George A. Scott
Frank R. Seaver
Mrs. Eric G. Segerstrom
W. T. Sesnon, Jr.
Miss Helen Shafter
L. L. Shaw
A. T. Shine
Paul A. Sinsheimer
Howard D. Smith
Mrs. Antoinette Naglee Spruyt
Harvey E. Starr, M.D.
Walter A. Starr
Miss Lucy Ward Stebbins
Louis L. Stein, Jr.
Mrs. Sigmund Stern
Samuel S. Stevens
Thomas W. Streeter
J. F. Sullivan, Jr.
Benjamin H. Swig
Charles A. Tegner
Mrs. Helen Marye Thomas
Melville C. Threlkeld, Jr.
Mrs. Henry W. Toulmin
Mrs. Donald B. Tresidder
Jasper W. Tully
F. C. van Deinse
Capt. Frederic F. Wessell
Frank A. West
Carl I. Wheat
Mrs. Van Rensselaer Wilbur
Robert W. Williams
Mrs. George Osborne Wilson
P. G. Winnett
Miss Doris Marion Wright
Loyd Wright
Edward G. Zelinsky

Mrs. Edna Martin Parratt, *Managing Director*
Miss Gladys C. Wickson, *Editor of the Quarterly*
James de T. Abajian, *Librarian*
Miss Florence Hazard, *Staff Assistant*
Office and Library: 456 McAllister Street, San Francisco 2

Lawton Kennedy, Printer
San Francisco

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

September 1953

California Historical Society Quarterly

Editor: Gladys C. Wickson

Editorial Advisory Committee: Allen L. Chickering, *Chairman;* Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter, *Assistant Chairman;* Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Edgar M. Kahn, Miss Adele Ogden.

Vol. XXXII Contents for September 1953 No. 3

The Ira J. Willis Guide to the Gold Mines 193
Edited, with an Introduction, by Irene D. Paden
Foreword by Carl P. Russell

Andrew Wilson's "Jottings" on Civil War California 209
Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes,
By John Haskell Kemble

Techniques and Implements of the American Whale-Fishery 225
From an Early Japanese Account
Edited by Robert F. Heizer
Translated by Hitoshi Watanabe

The Joaquin Miller Foundation 231
By William W. Winn

Hans Herman Behr 243
German Doctor, California Professor and Academician, and "Bohemian"
By Robert T. Legge, M.D.

Note on George Nidever 263
A "Clean-Living and Upright" Trapper
By Virginia Thomson

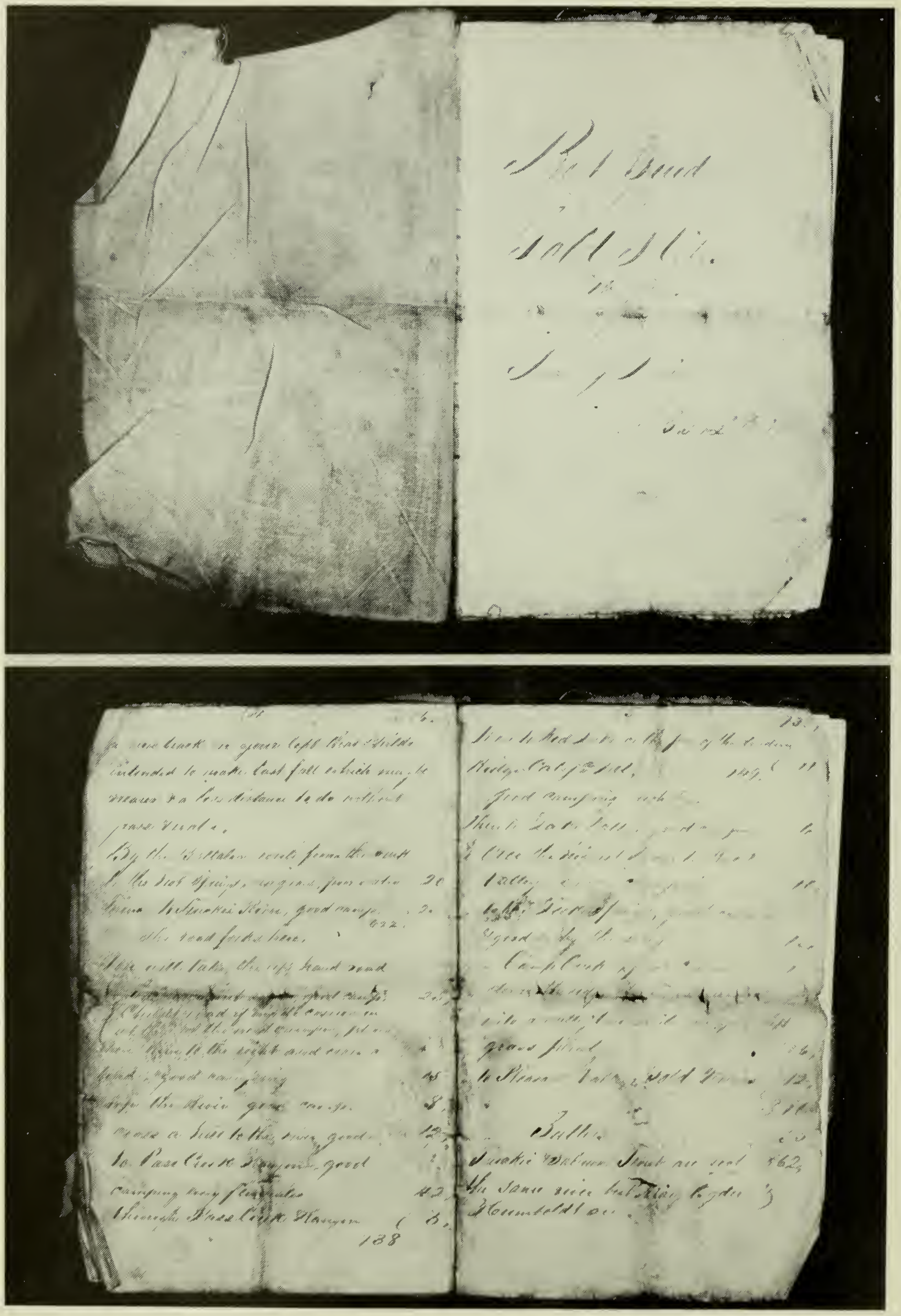
British Comment — as of 1849-1852 269
By S. Laird Swagert

News of the Society
- New Members 277
- Gifts of Recognition 277
- Book of Remembrance 278
- Gifts 280

Recent Californiana 283

Marginalia 285

California Historical Society Quarterly is published in March, June, September, and December from the rooms of the Society at 456 McAllister Street, San Francisco 2, California, and distributed to members only. Extra copies and back numbers may be purchased by members at two dollars per copy (plus eight cents postage) with the exception of certain numbers which are very scarce or out of print. The Quarterly is entered as second-class matter at the Post Office, San Francisco, California. The entire contents are copyrighted, 1953, by the California Historical Society. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors. All correspondence should be addressed to the Society.



THE WILLIS GUIDE

Linen covers and Pages 4 and 5

Reproduced from the original in Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park, through the courtesy of Dr. Carl P. Russell.

The Ira J. Willis Guide to the Gold Mines

Edited, with an Introduction, by Irene D. Paden

Foreword by Carl P. Russell

Foreword. — In the fall of 1928, I, as park naturalist in Yosemite National Park, received a letter from Mrs. M. O. Walkington, London, England. Mrs. Walkington was a member of the English family from which came Emily Ann Edmunds, the wife of James Mason Hutchings, California publisher and pioneer hotel keeper in Yosemite Valley. Mrs. Walkington offered to make available to the Yosemite Museum a collection of documents, photos, Hutchings manuscripts, and small historic objects of Yosemite significance, which had once been the property of Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Hutchings. I assured her that we wanted such things.

In due course there arrived at the Yosemite Museum an assortment of stuff, delightful to the eye of the curator. Included in the lot was an incomplete set of *Hutchings California Magazine*, manuscripts in Hutchings' handwriting representing public lectures which he delivered in America in the 1870's, numerous imprints of the broadsides and letter sheets which Hutchings published in San Francisco, a variety of early-day photographs made in the Sierra, and newspaper clippings pertaining to Yosemite and to the Hutchings family. One obscure item was a well-worn, sweat-stained longhand manuscript of a few pages of rag paper, sewed in soiled linen covers. Inserted under the cover was a note stating, "November 6, 1928. This guide to the gold mines was under the cover of the late J. M. Hutchings Diary of his journey from Jacksonville to Sacramento in 1849. It is not referred to in the Diary but was apparently purchased by him at the time of his journey. It bears the name of the compiler, Ira J. Willis." [signed] "Charles Man."

The unique character of this gold-seekers' guide was appreciated immediately by the Yosemite Museum staff, and it was carefully recorded and placed in fireproof storage. No publicity was given to it, however, because special inquiry addressed to Mrs. Walkington brought no further information. The park naturalist reserved a niche for it in his "recollections," and, when Mrs. Paden's *In the Wake of the Prairie Schooner* appeared, his interest in the old guide was re-awakened; the Willis item did not appear in her very thorough bibliography.

We regard it to be most fitting that Mrs. Paden should now publish the old guide leaflet, and it is with further thanks to Mrs. Walkington that we consign the contents of the manuscript to Mrs. Paden's expert interpretation. The manuscript itself is still a prized possession of the Yosemite Museum, Catalog No. 5175.

Carl P. Russell, Superintendent,
Yosemite National Park

[Dr. Russell has been on leave from Yosemite since Nov. 1, 1952.]

Introduction. – The document here reproduced was written in or near Salt Lake City between the summer of 1848, when the necessary data were obtained, and the summer of 1849, when it served to guide James Mason Hutchings to California. There were similar guides, presumably duplicates of all or portions of this one, sold as late as the summer of 1850, but, if any other copy still exists, the fact is not generally known to research workers in the field of western history. The guide was not published, and but few travelers mention buying the handwritten copies.

It seems convenient to take up the matter under five headings: I. Who was Ira Willis (often spelled Willes)? II. How did he happen to write a guidebook? III. Why was such an unimpressive document salable? IV. How, without seeing a copy, have historians known that such a guide existed? V. Of what terrain or route does it treat?

I.

Ira J. Willis was one of the volunteers who made up the Mormon Battalion. With him went his brother, Sidney Willis. The two traveled to California with the battalion, thus making what is conceded to be the longest infantry march in recorded history.

Our knowledge of the activities of the Willis brothers in California is obtained mainly from the journal of Henry W. Bigler, another battalion member who, with seven or eight other members, was with James W. Marshall when Marshall discovered gold at Sutter's sawmill in January 1848. Bigler communicated with certain other members of the battalion who were then working at Sutter's Fort, telling them not to spread the news except to those who could be trusted to keep the secret. As a result, several of these Mormon boys, including Sidney Willis, obtained permission from Sutter to have a few days of vacation and to look for gold at the sawmill. As they were returning, Sidney and a companion found gold near a small island in the American River, and they guided the battalion members, who had remained at the fort, back to the place. They were fairly successful in recovering gold dust and nuggets as might have been expected, for this became known in later months as the fabulously-rich Mormon Diggings. The island was called Mormon Island.

Bigler, who had traveled from the sawmill to the fort at the same time as Sidney Willis, but by a different route, came to an arrangement with Sutter whereby the Mormon boys agreed to finish their contract to complete the mill but afterward might mine on shares with Marshall. This they hoped would provide funds to take home to Salt Lake City. On his way back from the fort to the sawmill, Bigler camped at Mormon Island. His embellished journal, rewritten in 1872 for Hubert Howe Bancroft, reads:

> We found 7 of the boys at work they had taken out that day two hundred & 50 dols. This was the spot where the few particles was found by the Messrs Willis & Hutson on the 2 of March while returning from the saw mill and thought it not much account.... The names of the men who were here at work was, Sidney Willis, Ira Willis, Wilford Hutson, Jesse B. Martin and Ephraim the other 2 I disremember but think they were Israel Evans and James Sly. It was a bout this time that one or boath of the Willises had bisness that called them from their mineing to the Fort and it strikes me they went to Yerba Buena, at all events they met with Sam Brannan and let him in to the secret. Mr. Brannan told them that he could secure the mine as church property and advised for all the battalion boys to go to work in the mine and pay one tenth to him and he would turn it over to the church as their tithing with the understanding at the same time that he was to come in with the Willises & Hutson haveing a shear with them in their claim. This they done.

And then, as both Bigler and subsequent history inform us, Sam Brannan not only let out the secret but published it in his paper, the *California Star*, and shouted it in the streets. The gold rush was on.

II.

In spite of the attraction of free gold, the Mormon boys fulfilled their contracts; they also remained steadfast in their determination to return to Salt Lake City and their families as soon as the mountains were passable. They wished, however, to find a better way than the one over Truckee Summit and along the Truckee River. The misadventures of the Donner Party in 1846 had given that route a bad name. Henry Bigler wrote that they wished to "pioneer out a route across the Sierra Nevada and if possible find a nearer way than to go the truckey route and shun Crossing the Truckey River 27 times as we were informed by

Mr Brannan we should have to do if we went that route and very deep and rapid." As a result, the returning battalion members gathered for the journey at a place near what was later called Hangtown. They named their rendezvous Pleasant Valley and from here they started on July 4, 1848. Eventually the company numbered about forty-five men and one woman, wife of a member. Among them, either with the main company or overtaking it later, traveled Ira J. Willis.

The notes taken on this journey provided him with material for the little guidebook. His party was opening a new wagon road across the Sierra Nevada Mountains — an important segment in the route between Salt Lake City and California — and it is possible that he was asked to jot down the mileage and certain data. If so, the archives of the Church of Latter Day Saints at Salt Lake City have no record of the matter. It is even possible that not he but someone else gathered the data; however, the final compilation bore his name and was evidently put together by Willis.

The party had about seventeen wagons. They carried everything obtainable that their ingenuity suggested might be helpful to the struggling colony on the Great Salt Lake, from two cannon for its defense to useful seed for its planting. In this way, California peas made their appearance in Utah, and "taos wheat" from Pueblo. Their course lay along the divide between the American and the Cosumnes rivers.* After passing the comparatively short Cosumnes, they were hemmed between the American and the Mokelumne.

Willing men went ahead to choose and open a road for the wagons. Within a few days, three men of an advance party were killed by Indians and Tragedy Springs was named in their memory. Over what is now called Kit Carson Pass they made their way, along the backbone of the mountain south of the modern highway and nearly a thousand feet higher. Down the boulder-choked canyon of the West Carson River they toiled, and won their way into open country near what is now Genoa in Carson Valley.

---

*Bigler calls the Cosumnes the Mocozamy. Moorman, in his notation for September 22, 1850, writes: "The Consumnes, commonly called the 'McCosma,' is a rapid little stream, here, about thirty feet wide, coursing its way to the South West, and loses itself in the Sacramento several miles below the city." *The Journal of Madison Berryman Moorman*, ed. by Irene D. Paden (San Francisco, Calif. Hist. Soc., 1948, Sp. Publ. 23), wherein may be found references to overland diaries, etc.

They then trekked down the main Carson which Bigler called Pilot River, fighting Indians and having a man wounded. By this time it was well into August. They must have passed the site of Dayton, and, on the twelfth, kept a northwesterly course for 25 miles; they struck the Truckee River and found the "old Road" – the emigrant trail up the Truckee, opened by Caleb Greenwood and the Murphy-Stevens-Townsend Party in 1844, and which, in the interim, had been used by most California-bound emigrants. Following this trail eastward led them past the sink of the Humboldt (often called Mary's River) and along the course of this stream.

The little company now had a well-marked road ahead, punctuated by encounters with west-bound emigrant parties, and with hungry Indians who shot their animals in the hope that the carcasses would have to be left within reach. Approximately 215 miles east of the place where they had touched the Truckee River, Bigler states that they met a company of ten men with pack animals under the leadership of "Capt. S. Hinsly" – the same man well-known in the annals of California as Samuel J. Hensley. If we interpret Bigler's mileage correctly, the meeting took place twenty-odd miles west of Gravelly Ford, in the valley between Battle Mountain and Dunphy; but leeway must be allowed for error, both in Bigler's estimate and in the guidebook itself.

Hensley had been in California since 1843; he had gone east to testify at the courtmartial of John C. Frémont and was returning to the Pacific coast. The day was Sunday, August 27, 1848. The battalion men did not travel on the Sabbath, and had met for prayer in the tent of one of the company. Just as the service concluded, the westbound packers were seen coming along the trail. Bigler wrote:

> We was met by Capt. S. Hinsly a packing company of 10 men. we got a way bill of our Road from here to Salt lake and not go by Ft Hall and save about 8 or 10 days travel, we learn from Mr Hinsly that it is not more than a bout 380 miles to the lake to take a serten cut off which we are sure to find with plenty of wood water and grass a rout that he cum but waggons have never went there before a good waggon rout he got defeated in attempting to go Haistings cut off and turned back and found this knew rout of 70 miles saveing a bout 150 or 200 mi.

This was glad news for men who wanted above all things to reach their new home at Salt Lake City, which had been founded by their families the year before.

Then, a day or two later, they met a large wagon train under the guidance of Joseph C. Chiles, who attempted to give them directions to a still shorter route – probably some variation of the one he, himself, had traveled in 1841, when, with the Bidwell-Bartleson Party, he had left the Oregon Trail at the great bend of Bear River and had come southwest, north of the Great Salt Lake – through what is now Silver Zone Pass in the Toana Range and Secret Pass through the Ruby Range. They were unable to find this cutoff after diligent search. The incident is of interest, however, for, while discussing the problem of cutoffs, Chiles evidently told them of his intention to find a road leading southwest to the Carson River across the Humboldt Sink. It seems probable that they had first told Chiles of the new road they had opened with so much labor across the Sierra Nevada and, by way of the West Carson River, into Carson Valley. This is purest speculation, as such a conversation apparently was not recorded; but it seems the only explanation for the directions in the Willis Guide concerning the country between the sink of the Humboldt and the Sierra Nevada, which read as follows:

> The best water here [at the Sink] is in a slough
> that passes through a bend & a narrow
> Bluff. Here also you may find
> a new track on your left that Childs
> intended to make last fall which may be
> nearer & a less distance to do without
> grass & water.
> By the Battalion route from the Sink
> to the Hot Springs, no grass, poor water 20
> Thence to Truckie River, good camp 25
> *The road forks here*
> You will take the left hand road
> to Salmon Trout River*, good camp 25
> (Child's road if made comes in
> at this or the next camping place[)]

Chiles was successful in establishing his projected shortcut across the desert of the sink of Humboldt River. It was an accomplished fact long before the little guidebooks were sold, but Ira Willis and his comrades could not be certain, so it was listed as a possibility.

This information, which seems to belong much farther west at the sink of Humboldt River, is inserted here, because it was at this point in their journey that the battalion men must have received the instructions.

---

*Salmon Trout River, in this instance, refers to the Carson River, although some travelers applied the name to the Truckee.

Buying some bacon and buffalo meat from Chiles' wagon train, the two companies parted, and Willis with his comrades moved on to the head of Humboldt River, where they lost a day or two in abortive attempts to find the shorter road to the Great Salt Lake described by Chiles. The days were not wasted, however, as they thoroughly explored Bishop's Creek Canyon, which was to prove a shorter and more popular route to Fort Hall than the old road through what is now Wells, Nevada.

When they had reluctantly given up hope, they turned north through Thousand Springs Valley and along Goose Creek, until they came almost to Flatiron Mountain and turned right, up a little creek, to Granite Pass. Here they camped in the mountains, and here it was that their advance pilots returned to tell them that they had found the turn-off into Hensley's newly-made cutoff just eight miles ahead.

The cutoff, marked definitely by the two Steeple Rocks at the south portal of the City of the Rocks, was easy to find and permitted travelers to turn southeast toward Salt Lake City, instead of continuing northeast toward Fort Hall. The new route carried a large per cent of the gold-rush hordes and, in three more years, was practically to wipe out travel on the dangerous Hastings' Cutoff south of Great Salt Lake.

The people in Salt Lake City rightfully felt that the new and favorable road, traveled by the battalion boys in returning to their families, was a great contribution. Apparently Ira Willis was either given or assumed the task of assembling their data in the form of a travel guide, straight and to the point, without what might have been considered superfluous comments on the plants (other than the general term, "grass") or wild animals the traveler might find.

III.

The answer to the question why this small handwritten document was salable lies in the fact that it had no competition nor substitute. When the majority of the '49ers left the well-beaten Oregon Trail to head for California, they had no guidebook. Frémont's report of his 1843-44 expedition, which many had used thus far, was useless, for Frémont had continued to Oregon and thence had come south into California. Clayton's fine guide, by way of the trail lying north of the Platte River, stopped at Salt Lake City. Other guides, such as Jefferson's and Ware's, which were published in 1849, were not yet in general use. Travelers were at their wits' end for reliable information. The pull was strong to come west by way of the comforting civilization of the new Mormon city; but Hastings' Cutoff, which had heretofore been the only direct route thence to California, was justly dreaded by all. Willis' guidebook offered an acceptable solution.

The thrifty Mormon people were badly in need of money with which to buy the supplies they could not raise. Every talent, every bit of honest work that could be converted into available funds were utilized. The heavy migration to California in 1849 was a source of income, streaming past their very doors. They raised vegetables and peddled them far out on the trail. They did the necessary blacksmithing. They ran steady and reliable ferries over the larger rivers. They built toll-bridges over some of the smaller ones. They pastured tired animals. Now, in Ira Willis' little guidebook they had another commodity to sell. Even though the profits might be small, they evidently went at the project, hammer and tongs. We know that more than one person did the copying, because one traveler complained that his partial copy was poorly spelled. We know that they were done hastily, for the cover of the Yosemite copy bears an uncorrected error. We even know that the whole project was done without supervision from competent authorities, because errors in the addition appear. But, no matter how indifferently executed, the little documents were a real contribution.

IV.

How have students of western trails known that such a guidebook existed? Why, quite naturally, through reading the daily journals of individuals who used it. Several instances have come to their attention. Lorenzo Sawyer mentions the Mormon Guide in his notation for June 25, 1850. William T. Coleman wrote, "We were provided with a Mormon guidebook, published by one who had become familiar with the overland routes during the Mexican War, and later by a trip to and from California." The word "published" seems poorly chosen, but Coleman probably meant Ira Willis' production.

J. Goldsborough Bruff mentioned, on August 29, 1849, that he had purchased the latter portion of such a guide, and he proved to posterity that he had done so by copying it in his notes.

Sarah Royce used it. She wrote, "Our only guide from Salt Lake City consisted of two small sheets of note paper, sewed together, and bearing on the outside in writing the title, 'Best Guide to the Gold Mines, 816 miles, by Ira J. Willes, G SL City.' "

Madison Moorman bought a "guide" in 1850. When the author of the present article edited his journal for the California Historical Society in 1948, the subject was discussed and speculated upon at some length in the notes. Actual knowledge of the wording of the Willis guidebook has clarified much of the speculation. Permission kindly given* to quote briefly from the letters of Finley McDiarmid has shed additional light on the subject. One speculation was the possibility that Sarah Royce and Moorman bought the same guide, and that, as Moorman purchased it over twenty miles out on Hastings' Cutoff, it might be for that route. One of Sarah Royce's statements seemed to make this likely: ". . . we camped," she wrote, "on the head branch of Mary's River, and on Monday morning passed through a cañon which brought us to the River itself." Granted that Bishop Creek (on the Fort Hall route) was considered the head branch of Mary's River, her party was unlikely to be well-informed on the subject. Furthermore, in passing through the canyon they were already on the river, and, upon emerging, met nothing larger than they had already seen. On the other hand, if Sarah Royce had traveled by way of Hastings' Cutoff, her party would emerge from the canyon of the South Fork onto the full-fledged river. All of which sounds convincing, but it does not alter the fact that Sarah purchased the Ira Willis guidebook and evidently traveled by its guidance via the new route to the Fort Hall Road. She and her party could not fail to recognize the unimpressive creek which they met after emerging from Bishop Canyon, because it was plainly labeled "Marys River" in the guide.

Moorman, on the other hand, gave no description of his "guide," but, at the end of the second day's journey out from Salt Lake City, he wrote, "We nooned upon a creek near to a lone house where some men were engaged in fitting some timbers for a sawmill. . . . We purchased from them an imperfect guide for our road. . . ." In view of the fresh information given in McDiarmid's letters, it now seems likely that Moorman's guide was sold by the same group of men as was McDiarmid's, and that it may have been similar; in which case it was indeed for the desert portion of Hastings' Cutoff.

---

*Acknowledgment is made to Mr. and Mrs. Leroy A. Reynolds of Alameda for this courtesy.

McDiarmid, traveling about a week later than Moorman, wrote to his wife from the camp at the foot of Pilot Peak at the west edge of the Salt Desert. In the letter, he complained that his party had been led to believe that the distance from water to water across the desert was much shorter than the actuality. "This false information," he wrote, "as to the precise distance across the desert to grass and water was mostly given by a Mormon who was building a sawmill 25 to 30 miles this side of Salt Lake. He sold to the emigrants, who are generally too ready to grab at any information or receive any man's story, a chart or map of the road over the desert, marking the springs, feed, distance &, &. He sets the distance at 60 miles, whereas it is at least 90 if not 100. I here send you a *fact simile* of his map."

In justice to the seller of the "chart or map," it must be said that, although extremely crude, it does not appear to be erroneous, and the misinformation must have occurred by word of mouth, or, possibly, have been a tragic misunderstanding.

Thanks to Sarah Royce, students knew what the title page of Willis' guidebook looked like. Thanks to Bruff, they knew how some of it was worded. It is a great thrill to see this old copy with its soiled cloth cover, made apparently from a man's linen handkerchief, and its tiny cramped writing. It is like a ghost taken from the middle of the last century and materialized in this.

V.

As to the terrain through which the little guide led its travelers, some of it has been mentioned, unavoidably, in the previous paragraphs; but, beginning at Salt Lake City, it can be set down briefly: Ira Willis was merely reversing the route which he had traveled in returning from California, in order to make the directions suitable for westbound emigrants.

From Salt Lake City, the route led north through what is now Ogden; it crossed in succession Weber River, Bear River and the Malad, which the '49ers usually dubbed Mud Creek; thence to Blue Springs, thence northerly to Hansel Springs. Deep Creek was crossed near modern Snowville and its short course followed until near its sink. West to Pilot Springs and then Emigrant Spring, reached just at the foot of Raft River Mountains. Thence northwesterly to Raft River. The guide seemingly refers to this stream as "Cajiers," although the word (which appears twice) might be otherwise interpreted. Henry Bigler refers to it in his journal as Cashier Creek, and some of the many variations used by the westbound emigrants were Casus, Cassia, Casua, and other more elaborate versions. An interesting conjecture is that the copyist may have used the old form of "S," which looped below the line as does a "j." Such an "S" would be more correctly used as the second letter in "ss"; it is not found elsewhere in the guide, but, when a person was copying someone else's handwriting, it might easily have occurred.

The new wagon road followed up the general course of Raft River some ten miles, then left it and went past the southern gateway of the City of the Rocks — a lush mountain meadow, studded with and surrounded by huge pointed rocks. Two of these, very prominent beside the trail, Bigler had called the Twin Sisters, but they appear on the guide as Steeple Rocks and are still known by that title.

Now the trail led west "over a hill" ten miles to Goose Creek. This is something special in the line of understatement, as many of the '49ers considered Granite Pass descent very bad indeed. The ascent of Goose Creek took them south into Nevada, where they passed through Thousand Springs Valley — referred to as Hot Spring Valley. Thence to a branch of Humboldt River, which they followed through a canyon, crossing it nine times. This was the canyon which the battalion men had explored on the way east, while hunting for Chiles' route. It is one of the head branches of Humboldt River and is now known as Bishop Creek Canyon. Then they followed the Humboldt to its sink, and it was here that the purchasers of the guidebook were to look carefully for the wheel marks of Chiles' wagon train, cutting across to the Carson River toward what is now Leetesville. In case they could not find them (or in case Chiles had changed his purpose and had not gone that way), the purchaser was to continue on the regular trail to the Truckee River and there pick up the tracks of the battalion members. Their trace connected the old trail up the Truckee with the new trail they had made along the Carson, probably leaving the old one somewhere west of what is now Wadsworth, and striking the Carson a few miles east of Dayton. Thence up the Carson to the canyon of the West Carson, and so on across the Sierra Nevada to Hangtown, as previously outlined.

The route became at least as popular as the trail up the Truckee River, and, dividing the burden of the gold rush of '49 with the latter and with the Lassen Trail, brought its fair proportion of new citizens to California.

Ira Willis was in Lehi, Utah, in 1849, the year following his return to his people. We know that he was married, and the fact of his death is established among the records of the Mormon Church as having occurred on December 5, 1863, from the accidental overturning of a wagon-load of wood.

Best Guide
to the
GOLD MINES
816 miles

by
IRA J. WILLIS

G. S. L. City

Way Bill of distances, camping
place, rivers, hot springs etc on
the Route from G. S. L. to
the GOLD MINES

	Miles
To Bear River, crossing the Weber 4 miles this side of Capt Brown's Roadometer Measure	84.
(Good camping at short distances[)]	
Thence to Malad or Mud Creek	3.
" " the 1st Warm Spring	6.
" " " 2nd do camping	14.
" " " Spring in the Mts. good camping	12.
" down deep Creek cross at the Bend	6.
" " " " good camping	6.
" to Springs in the plains poor "	10.
" " Cajiers [or Cajius] Creek good camping at several places in sight on left	26.
" up Cajiers [or Cajius] Creek, good camping	9.
	176.

(2)

	Thence to the Old Road near the Steeple Rocks,		6.
"	to Goose Creek over a hill		10.
		192.	
	Several camping places from the Steeple Rocks to Goose Creek.		
"	up Goose Creek, good camping		22.
"	to the Hot Spring Valley		13.
"	" " 2nd Spring (good camp[)]		5.
"	through the Valley		32.
	Found good camping places, none of them are more than 10 miles apart		
"	to a Branch of Mary's River good camping		8.
"	through a kanyon crossing the Branch 9 times, camping		8.
"	to Mary's River good camping all along		19.
		299.	
"	to Martins Fork of Mary's River good camping all along		60.
			359.

(3)

	Thence over a hill through a kanyon to where you strike Mary's River again (good camping & good in the kanyon.[)]	20.
	Then to a pass in the hills where you cross the River twice good camping all along	72.
"	" the next crossing of Mary's River good camping all along	46.
"	over a drive without grass or water	14.
"	to the lower crossing of Mary's River (good camping[)]	14.
"	to the lower camping place on the River, grass-scarce	26.
"	to a Slough, poor camping grass scarce	15.
"	" the Sink of Mary's River grass & wood scarce	20.
		586

The best water here is in a slough that passes through a bend & a narrow Bluff. Here also you may find

(4)

a new track on your left that Childs
intended to make last fall which may be
nearer & a less distance to do without
grass & water.
By the Battalion route from the Sink
to the hot Springs, no grass, poor water 20.
Thence to Truckie River, good camp. 25.
622.
[Should be 631]

The road forks here.
You will take the left hand road
to Salmon Trout river good camp 25.
(Childs road if made comes in
at this or the next camping place[)]
Then turn to the right and cross a
bend, good camping 15.
" up the River good camp 8.
" cross a hill to the river good " 12.
" to Pass Creek Kanyon, good
camping every few miles 42.
" through Pass Creek Kanyon 5.
738.

(5)

Then to Red Lake or the foot of the dividing
Ridge. Calif. Mts 11.
749.

good camping, nigh by.
Then to Lake Valley, good camping 6.
" over the highest Ridge to Rock
Valley, good camping 10.
" to Leek Springs, good camping
& good by by [*sic*] the way 13.
" " Camp Creek, poor camping 10.
" down the ridge and then you arrive
into a valley two miles, on your left
grass plenty 16.
" to Pleasant Valley *Gold Mines* 12.
816.
" " Sutters 55.
862.
[Should be 871]

Truckie & Salmon Trout are *not*
the same river but Mary, Ogden &
Humboldt are.

Andrew Wilson's "Jottings" on Civil War California

Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes,

By John Haskell Kemble

Introduction. — On April 25, 1861, the American clipper ship *Bald Eagle* arrived in San Francisco Bay, 41 days out of Hong Kong. She brought over four hundred Chinese coolies in her steerage, as well as a few white passengers in the cabin. Among the latter was Andrew Wilson, a young British journalist on his way from China to England by way of the United States. He had just quitted the editorship of the *China Mail,* principal English newspaper of Hong Kong, and, ten days after landing in San Francisco, he dispatched a letter back to this paper in which he described the voyage across the Pacific, and his first impressions of San Francisco. His shortest route east from California, insofar as time was concerned, lay south to the Isthmus of Panama by steamer, thence to the Atlantic by rail, and by steamer once more to New York. Wilson chose this route, but instead of taking the first steamer, which would have been the *Golden Age* on May first, he stayed over one ship and sailed in the *Sonora* on the eleventh. This gave him more time in San Francisco, permitted a visit to Sacramento, and a journey on the Sacramento Valley Railroad to Folsom, the end of track. Before leaving California, Wilson wrote three more letters back to the *China Mail,* describing his travels and his impressions of early Civil War days in this state. He showed particular interest in the newspapers of California, the conduct of politics, and the conditions under which the Chinese lived. His next letter was written from New York on June 5, 1861, three days after his arrival on the *S.S. Northern Light,* and described the journey from San Francisco by way of Panama.

Before sailing for England, Wilson passed some weeks in the United States, and two more letters appeared in the *China Mail* which were written during this visit. Both bore New York date lines, but one was mainly devoted to visits to wartime Baltimore and Washington, and the other centered around a second-hand account of the First Battle of Bull Run and reactions to this defeat as Wilson observed them in New York. The series of published letters stopped here, and apparently Wilson's Hong Kong readers had no further account of his travels. Together, then, the letters covered a span of less than three months; but, ranging as they do from a trans-Pacific voyage to California, then to Panama, and finally to New York and Washington, they included glances at travel and conditions of life which were of more than ordinary interest.

Letters written on such a hurried trip could scarcely be expected to contain much serious commentary on the places visited. Brief visits frequently produce the most vivid impressions, however, and Wilson's writings were no exception to this generalization. He was a keen observer, a man of wide travel experience, and he knew how to write. His reactions to affairs in California and in the United States generally were lively, and sometimes they reflected sharp insight. The views which he put forward as to the Civil War and the qualities of Union and Confederate leadership were those frequently held by upper middle-class Britishers of his day. Granting their highly subjective qualities, these letters are vivid and often amusing commentaries on significant places and times.

Andrew Wilson (1831-1881) was the son of John Wilson (1804-1875), a Scottish missionary to Bombay who, himself, had something of a literary reputation as an orientalist. The son was trained at the universities of Edinburgh and Tübingen, and began his journalistic career when he took charge of the *Bombay Times* during the absence of its editor. While in India, Wilson also commenced a distinguished career as a traveler by a tour to Baluchistan. Returning to England, he began to contribute prose and verse to *Blackwood's Magazine*, thus initiating a literary connection which was to continue throughout his life.

Wilson went to the Far East once more in the latter 1850's, and became editor of the Hong Kong *China Mail*. His editorial duties can hardly have bound him very closely since, during a rather short sojourn, he traveled extensively in the countryside of southern China, and made a trip to Tientsin and Japan. During this period, he sent contributions to the London *Daily News* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, as well as to *Blackwood's*. In 1860 Wilson published a pamphlet entitled *England's Policy in China*, which advocated policy changes later carried out by British diplomats and military men.

Leaving Hong Kong in mid-March 1861, Wilson journeyed back to

England, the trip which is partly described in the letters published here. The years until about 1873 he spent in Britain, writing for various papers and magazines. He published his first considerable book in 1868. It was called *The 'Ever-Victorious Army': a History of the Chinese Campaigns under Lt. Col. C. G. Gordon, C.B., R.E., and of the Suppression of the Tai-Ping Rebellion.* Treating of events in China between 1860 and 1864, it was based on Gordon's then-unpublished private journal, and for long it was regarded as the best account of the subject.

Andrew Wilson returned to India once more, and took up the editorship of the *Times of India* and the *Bombay Gazette.* Although he was in frail health, he made an arduous trip along the northern frontiers of India, and published in 1875 a book called *The Abode of Snow, Observations on a Journey from Chinese Tibet to the Indian Caucasus, through the Upper Valleys of the Himalaya.* A second edition appeared in 1876. Before his final departure from India, Wilson made an excursion into the wild state of Kathiawar. His last contribution to *Blackwood's* was written in the spring of 1877, and was a retrospective article on African travel. The last years of Wilson's life were spent in the Lake District of England, and he died at Howton-on-Ullswater on June 9, 1881.

The *China Mail,* the newspaper in which these letters were published between July 11 and November 1, 1861, was founded in 1845. Three years later, in 1848, a weekly edition, the *Overland China Mail,* began to appear. The "overland" in its title referred to the route to England by way of the Isthmus of Suez, in contrast to the all-water route around Africa. It was intended primarily for distribution outside Hong Kong, and, like so many other weekly editions of nineteenth-century newspapers, world news was largely eliminated and local news and original material predominated. It was from the *Overland China Mail* that these letters were transcribed. They appeared under headings "Jottings from an Old Pen," and "American Notes" — the latter a popular title with British commentators, being used by Charles Dickens after his first visit to America in 1842, and adopted later by Rudyard Kipling for his impressions of the country in 1889. The dates at the ends of all but the last two of Wilson's letters refer to the time of publication in the *Daily China Mail,* from which they were reprinted in the *Overland China Mail.*

Except for indicated omissions (in the interest of space) and obvious errors of press-room composition, the text has been reproduced as it appeared. Corrections for the obvious errors have been supplied in square brackets. Microfilms of the numbers of the *Overland China Mail*, in which the Wilson letters appeared, have kindly been made available by the Library of Congress, whose collection contains a file of this newspaper. I am grateful to my father, Ira Oscar Kemble, for aid in proof reading.

THE WILSON LETTERS

San Francisco, May 3 [1861].

We were what the Americans call a "stag party" in the ship *Bald Eagle*, across the broad waters of the Pacific: that is to say, there were no ladies on board, not even Chinese ones, though of Chinese passengers there were upwards of four hundred.[1] Notwithstanding that slight drawback, we had a most pleasant passage over of only forty-one days, under the gentlemanly direction of Captain Edward Nickels, who is too well and too favorably known on the coast of China to require further commendation.[2]

Leaving Hongkong about the middle of March, it becomes pretty coldish off the coast of Japan, in fact about as chill as the feeling between Japanese and foreigners, or the love subsisting between Mr. Alcock and Mr. Harris.[3] Hail storms are not uncommon, and warm clothes become a necessity. We had a good deal of head wind in the first part of the passage, but the latter half was different, for we bowled over in twenty days from the coast of Japan to San Francisco, or 'Frisco, as some of the sailors call it. Give me a Captain who carries all sail he possibly can, and a mate, like Mr Brown, who takes the most cheerful view of things, and invariably insists that "everything is all right." I am sure if anything had happened to the *Bald Eagle*, and she had gone down head foremost, the last thing heard would have been the voice of Mr Brown crying, "Never fear, Sir, she'll be up again directly." I am sorry I cannot say as much good of the crew of the ship. A supply of proper seamen for vessels of the merchant service is a subject which requires much to be looked after. The half of our crew were very slight Manilamen, some of them diseased and unfit for work; two of the white men proved to be run-away British *soldiers;* and the few really efficient seamen on board had too much thrown upon them. We could not have met any emergency where our safety would have depended on smart handling of the ship, though the crew was superior, both in number and quality, to those of many other vessels which sail now-a-days. If ships are to be manned by mere "bush-whackers," their loss will greatly increase.

With the exception of the cooks, few of the Chinese passengers disported themselves on deck, and their principal occupation appeared to be hunting after a small species of animal which is not averse to man, however much man may be to him. The Emigration Act requires that when no European Surgeon can be had at a reasonable fee, there should be placed on board a Chinese doctor and a box of *European* medicines; but of what use are the European medicines to the Chinese?[4] He ought to have *Chinese* Medicines, which he knows how to administer. It was amusing to notice the puzzled air with which the Doctor, who knew not a word of English, surveyed the row of bottles in his medicine chest, and examined the mysterious hieroglyphics on the weights. Luckily there was very little sickness on board, and I came to his aid. We had a daily talk and consultation over vocabularies and dictionaries in regard to the state of his flock; but whether it was that they all got well under my treatment, or were disgusted with some large doses of a certain balsamic oil which I insisted on being swallowed, our consultations almost ceased. Latterly one of my fellow-passengers administered some brandy to a Chinaman who had received an external injury, and the applications for that kind of medicine continued to the last, though seldom responded to. On the whole, there was very little sickness among the Chinese, and no deaths. There was far more serious illness among the crew than among the four hundred emigrants.

There was a little fight occurred on board, which possibly suggested to us how easily serious conflicts might occur in the ships to Havana, where the coolies and the crew regard each other with mutual suspicion and dislike.[5] The emigrants of the *Bald Eagle* were there indubitably of their own free will, and they had full confidence in the good feeling of the Captain, mate, and passengers; but, when none of us were out to see the origin of it, a fight occurred between them and some of the sailors, in which one of the Chinamen was severely cut about the head with a spade, and another struck with a knife upon the jaw. As is usual in such cases, the blood was smeared over the faces of the wounded men, and they were laid down on deck as if dead, presenting a ghastly enough spectacle. The Chinamen then began swarming up from below decks, looking very black at the sight of their comrades, and crying out "*Ta, ta;*" brick bats (from the cooking-places) and pieces of wood were rapidly exchanged between them and the sailors; a little Manilaman came rushing along the deck like a tiger, with a knife in his hand, and there was as fair a prospect of a serious fight as could well be. It was only prevented by the active interference of the Captain and passengers, more particularly of Mr Edwards, of Hongkong and San Francisco, who occupied an unenviable position between the contending parties, and exposed to the missiles of both.[6] We were not afraid of the Chinamen hurting us, and so were able to quiet them down; but if the interference had been made by a hot-headed young American skipper, with a revolver in his hand, and afraid of the coolies taking the ship, the result would have been very different and bloody. These difficulties usually arise from little quarrels among the Chinese themselves, which it is best to leave them to settle in their own way, but which the crew like to put down by force. Our passengers had just cause of complaint against the Contractor for their provisions, on account of the character of the beef he had placed on board, and so they were incensed against the Chinaman who represented him. Barrel after barrel of this beef was thrown overboard, as unfit for use; and I would suggest that all provisions put on board for Chinese passengers should be certified as good by the Master of the vessel, who has great interest in seeing that they really are so, while the Harbour Master, who passes them at present, has no time for a sufficiently detailed examination. There are other matters too in which the Captain should have more power, as in the fitting up of cooking-places, &c., which are now left to the indiscretion of the Chinese Broker, who is bent on economy, and scarcely knows what allowance to make for the accidents of the sea. The way in which the berths and cooking-places were put up in the *Bald Eagle* was disgraceful to the Broker. Many of them broke down, to the risk of heads and limbs; and the latter were so constructed that some days, when the weather was bad, the emigrants got no food, as no cooking could be done, and they could not eat raw pork and unboiled rice. It was a wonder that the whole cooking appa[ra]tus was not carried away altogether, in which case we should have been in a quandary indeed. There is much resemblance at present between the Chinese emigration to Australia and California, and that which formerly used to prevail from England, when ships were taken up by contractors, who were greedy economists, and provided insufficient food and accommodation.

I think many sick people who are sent from China in a crowded steamer, to run the gauntlet of the Red Sea, and perhaps leave their bones to be picked by Egyptian vultures, would do much better to start from Hongkong in a comfortable clipper ship for San Francisco. The expenses of this way to England are as follows: —

Hongkong to San Francisco	$150
San Francisco to New York, via Panama	200
New York to Britain, via Glasgow line	75
Total	$425,

which, you see is considerably less than what is charged by the P. & O. Company, though the incidental expenses will be greater. The atmosphere of the Pacific Ocean is very dry for a sea air, and is particularly favourable for invalids. On board a large sailing vessel with only three or four passengers, there is that quiet and rest which the invalid so much requires, and which is so impossible of attainment in a crowded steamer; and in the climate of California we have one of the most efficient health-restorers in the world. But I shall be able to write you more on this subject by-and-by.

Pleasant as the voyage was across the Pacific, it was still pleasanter to see the green tinge which indicates the neighbourhood of land — and to feel that we had crossed the great Ocean, and were in the presence of a new Continent destined to contain the most stupendous development of the human race. We struck the coast of California some sixty or seventy miles North of San Francisco, and saw fine wooded hills, the abode of Indians and grizzly bears, and with fine open green spaces, like English parks, scattered amongst them. Towards the capital, the coast became more precipitous and the hills more barren. The pilot who came to conduct us into the harbour was in a small schooner, riding beautifully on the heavy swell; and after crossing the bar where the waves rose high, we entered the Golden Gate, marked on the one side by a natural arch in the rock, and on the other by a noble light-house, and sailed into the fine large harbour just in time to drop our anchors by dusk.[7]

A boat took three of us ashore that night, a space of about two or three hundred yards, for the immoderate sum of a dollar a head, which, considering that we had but one boatman and had to steer ourselves, was a pretty tall sum, and could hardly have been much out of the way, as both my companions were well acquainted with the country. Having been introduced to the Union Club, I put up there, in preference to a big hotel, which would be intolerable after the quiet of China.[8] Before retiring, I took a stroll with a friend along the principal street, and dropped into a restaurant in order to try the far-famed oysters of the country. There I saw a little boy, about seven or eight years old, sitting on the counter, with a flushed face, drinking miniature cocktails, and talking politics, – saying, "Damn these Secessionists! What *I* say is, that we have stood a great deal too much." Shortly after a gentleman, with a rather raised look, said to me, "Will you join us, Sir? We're going to take a Union drink all round? ["] – Then I began to realise that I was in California and the Disunited States.

But more anon. *China Mail*, July 11 [1861].

Supplement to the Overland China Mail, No. 240. Hongkong, 27 July 1861. n.p.

Sacramento, 7th May, 1861.

This is at present the Capital of California, and contains the Capitol of the state – a large brick building, where Legislators and Senators do congregate, and where one of the latter, a few days ago, declared that he meant "to deal" with "the false-hearted and hollow-headed member for San Francisco," – immediately after illustrating his meaning by tapping that member on the head with a heavy stick, which stretched him on the floor of the house.[9] I am bound to say, however, that when I was in the Senate, there was an amount of business quietly transacted which would have astonished the Legislative Council of Hongkong, and driven Mr Cleverly to despair.[10] Each member had a desk before him, and very frosty looking diggers dropped in and out of the public space in a manner calculated to shew their independence. In many respects the order of nature is here reversed from Hongkong. There, the Editor must go to the Governor, but here the latter waits upon the former. I saw Dr Downey, the Governor of California, come into the office of the *Alta California* newspaper as a man and a brother; and one person told me (though I do not believe it) that, ten years ago, this Governor borrowed ten dollars of him to get up to the diggings.[11] Notwithstanding the want of ceremony and occasional violent scenes in these Legislatures, there is much good strong sense in them, and they afford a fine field for men of energy and talent. So long as a man here pays his way and shews any special capacity, the fields of wealth and power are as open to him as to all.

I had the pleasure of dining [here] with a rather celebrated character in California politics – Mr Nugent, who was run, nearly with success, by the Democratic party for the United States Senate at last election.[12] This gentleman was for many years Editor of the San Francisco *Herald*, and was described to me as having fought more duels than any man of his age, and as having been almost shot to pieces. I found Mr Nugent to be a smooth-faced, young-looking, pleasant and genial person, that most people would have been the last to fix upon as a fire-eater, and he would not admit having fought more than three duels. He had some slight Milesian traits, and another Senator to whom he introduced me was unmistakably a Scotchman, though an altra [ultra] anti-nigger man. There has been, of course, great excitement here about the preservation of the Union, and every stranger arriving in Sacramento is eagerly scanned. As I had the fortune to fall among a set of politicians, on whom – rightly or wrongly – some suspicion rested, I had the pleasure of hearing it stated in the street next day that I was a Secessionist, and the statement was coupled with some wholesome advice as to what a Secessionist need expect if he lifted his little finger in Sacramento. Mr Nugent is not at all alone in his experience. One editor in San Francisco told me that a duel was an editorial baptism in California; and I may mention, that this gentleman had a fierce air, wrote with a large pen about the thickness of a man's thumb, and told me that he had been both in the United States army and also captain of a merchant vessel. If he had added that he had also been a bucanier [*sic*], I should not have been in the least surprised. A severe law was passed against duelling, but it has never been put in execution, and the very member who proposed the law fought a duel three weeks after doing so. The progress of events, however, and the death of Mr Broderick, have rather discouraged this habit, and, as regards it, California is now no worse than the majority of the United States, and is better than some of those in the South.[13] Still the idea remains that a man ought to defend himself; and when, a few days ago, a Member of the Senate was knocked down, though a Committee was appointed on the offender, and it was universally acknowledged that no cause had been given for the offence, yet nothing came of it, and the matter was allowed to drop.

Sacramento is rather farther from San Francisco than Canton from Hongkong, and similarly situated with the former city – on a low plain traversed by streams. The steamers which run up to it are even more splendid than the *White Cloud*, and the passage costs only One Dollar, the same sum being charged for dinner; but one draw back to the competition which has reduced the price is, that the steamers race against one another, and an explosion has been prophesied in the papers for several days.[14] The dinner is excellent, but no wine, beer, or spirits are to be seen at it, only tea and coffee; and the bar, where all the drinking is done standing, is so ingeniously placed, that few will be at the trouble of paying it a second visit; and so, disreputable characters having once got into it, usually remain there until the steamer reaches its destination or they are turned out. Indeed, to all outward appearance, California is an extremely sober country, and has quite lost the character it had in this respect in former years. The people are naturally so excitable, that they are compelled to do all in their power to repress drinking habits. They are naturally "tight," and so do not require stimulants. Still there are occasional indications that the old leaven of unrighteousness is not entirely lost. There is such a thing as an "eye-opener" sometimes taken before breakfast; and stalwart figures from the mines are to be seen wandering about the streets of Sacramento, in a condition of bottled speech, while their legs still perform their usual functions. It is a remarkable fact, too, that there are what are called "Asylums for the Inebriate" in this country.

The passage up the river is one of great interest and beauty. In the upper part of the bay the shores are often slices, as it were, of bright green grass running into the water; while willowy hills with large villages, or perhaps a solitary ranch, at the foot, rise beyond, and stretch into large round swelling hills tufted with dark bushes and dead oaks, — all under a most brilliant sky, ever changing its wonderful tints. On the right hand, just after entering the river, Monte Diablo rises up in towering grandeur; and on the left we have the town of Benicia, famous for its illustrious "Boy."[15] Further up the river, their [thick?] forests line the bank, and broad cattle lands stretch away, bounded, high in the distance, by the magnificent snowy range of the Sierra Nevada.

A Railway runs from Sacramento to Folsom, a village among what are called "the foot hills," or the hills at the bottom of the Sierra.[16] The rail runs over level land, scattered with oaks, and with an occasional cart trotting over it, on no track and in no particular direction. Little wooden houses are seen here and there, something like the wooden caravans to be seen at fairs in England, and which contain the Albino lady, the little dwarf, and the bloated giant on whom we expended our youthful tuppence. These, you must know, are the homes of the land, and very pretty some of them look, though most of them suggest the reverse of the idea of infinity. I have seldom seen a finer sight than the Sierra presented as we rattled over this plain. Their white summits blended with the white clouds, which shone gloriously above them against the evening sunlight, like the land of Beulah to the pilgrim's entranced gaze.

The village of Folsom is a very fair instance of a Californian settlement.[17] You will have it by imagining fifty or sixty of these caravan wooden houses on the side of a low hill crowned with some fine trees and a rural church, also of wood; — a front street, with half-a-dozen stores and as many grog-shops; — an hotel; — a railway station; and a yellow river sweeping round below, with its banks all gutted and tunnelled, as if a million colossal rabbits had made it their warren. That is Folsom; and if you want to see one of the houses, imagine one of the aforementioned caravans, with a German or Irish servant in a large coal-scuttle bonnet, washing clothes at the backdoor; — a young mother, with pretty full form and not unpleasing countenance, mending clothes in the lilliputian verandah in front, while a chubby infant is rolling on the ground beside her; — and a long cart, with two fine horses, driving up, in which is the father, a tall spare figure, standing very upright in a pair of long dirty boots. Float around a lucent air, of which every breath is exhilarating; look through mighty oak trees on green swelling hills, with snowy mountains flashing in the distance, — and you have a Californian scene exactly as it lies before me.

Supplement to the Overland China Mail, No. 242. Hongkong, 28 August 1861. n.p.

San Francisco, 10th May, 1861.

Walking the streets of this city, the first thing which attracts attention is, that almost every man is dressed in handsome black clothing, and there is a superficial appearance of Piccadilly about the whole population. On looking a little deeper, however, there are certain characteristics which show that the handsome clothing partakes of the nature of varnish. In fact, pick out the man with the most glossy hat and boots, and the most superfine broadcloth in San Francisco, and you will find that his fingers have been conversant with the shovel or the hoe, or that he has got a bowie-knife somewhere about his waist, or a revolver in the pocket of his surtout. On examining these extra well dressed people, you will remark a certain wildness about the eyes, showing that life is at high pressure, and a few of those grey hairs which are so abundant here.

But without meaning to insult any person, I hope I may be allowed to say, that the stranger from China will be most struck by the Bread-and-butter of San Francisco. *Bread-and-butter* — I don't want to mince matters, or come in with sneaking encomiums. The bread-and-butter of San Francisco is so good, that I have done little else than eat it since I came here. Now I realize how we are starved in Hongkong in regard to these essentials, and how we are, consequently, driven, *per force*, to take out our quota of the staff of life in the shape of grain which has been distilled into some of those liquids of which you may gain information by applying to Messrs Lane, Crawford & Co.[18] There must be some sawdust in the bread of Hongkong, or else the wheat is most miserable. Here we have a decided advantage as regards food. The mutton is nearly as good as that of Shanghai, the pork is inferior to that of China; but then the beef, the venison, the bear, the lamb, the fowls, the salmon, the game, the vegetables, and the fruits. And the strawberries! I give the strawberries a sentence to themselves, because it is worth while coming over here from China only to taste them. Rosy, soft, and sweet as any virgin's mouth — who can describe them? Even bear-steak is not at all bad. The "grizzlies" feed chiefly on the vegetable kingdom, so their flesh has none of that rank flavour which belongs to a tiger-chop. I am afraid these grizzlies are rather ill-treated persons. They live on roots; they never attack any person who does not meddle with them; and if they get a little wild when a conical ball is fired into them, they are surely not to blame.

You will want to know something about the price of living here; and, in order to introduce that subject, I may remark, that the Americans are not so frank as Englishmen, and have got a way of speaking at you rather than to you. To illustrate: — Coming down in one of the river boats, two persons placed themselves beside me, apparently passenger and touter, when the following colloquy took place: —

Touter. — Are you going to our Hotel, Sir?

Passenger. — Most decidedly; it is the quietest, best conducted, and cheapest house in San Francisco.

Touter. — Well, Sir, we *do* try (he says this in a deprecating manner) to do all we can for our friends.

Passenger. — What I like about it is, that it is a temperance house, and there is never any disturbance in it.

Touter. — (Turning to me) Would you allow me, Sir, to give you our card?

You will remark how thoroughly these employés understood their man in recommending the hotel to me as a temperance house. I think its terms were a dollar a day; but the best class of hotels here and at Sacramento charge two dollars and a half a day for board and lodging, the two going almost invariably together. Everything in these large hotels is conducted systematically, and almost by machinery, but they are very dreary places, and I strongly advise every stranger coming to San Francisco to put up at the "Union Club," if he can get an introduction to it, and in that there is no difficulty for any gentleman. It is in a most central situation, in Montgomery Street, above the office of Wells Fargo & Co., the Express Agents. The expense is less than that of an hotel, the cooking is much better, the wines are good, the society is on an easy friendly footing, and Mr Belden the Manager has not forgot the *bonhommie* of his native Derry, while he is able to post you in the mysteries of San Francisco; and he will arrange for the introduction to the Club of any passing visitor of respectability.[19]

I know of five daily papers published in San Francisco, and there may be several more.[20] The leading newspapers at present are the *Evening Bulletin* and the *Alta California*, the former of which, like more than half of the newspapers over the world, is under the direction of a Scotsman.[21] The use of both of these papers dates from the time when their respective Editors were killed, one in a duel, and the other, I think, in the street.[22] That is rather a novel way of increasing the circulation of a paper, but it is nevertheless a fact; and so a dead Editor is sometimes of more use than a living one. The explanation is, that the public was determined not to give its countenance to such violent attempts to restrain the freedom of discussion. These papers have a circulation of between five and seven thousand, and are printed at steam presses which throw off about sixty copies per minute, and are not entirely exempt from that tendency towards explosion for which the steam engines of America are noted. The proprietor of one of them informed me, when I called upon him, that the *China Mail* was "the star paper of China," with which statement I modestly acquiesced; but star papering it is a more arduous occupation in San Francisco than it is in Hongkong. Good compositors make from thirty to forty dollars per week, but they get through a great deal more work than compositors in the East can; and three associated papers pay six hundred dollars a month for telegraphic news from the Eastern States across the plains.

Let no one come to San Francisco with the notion that it is the uncivilized town of ten years ago. The streets are crowded with ladies, many of them beautiful, and with a rosy complexion such as we look for in vain in the East. Society is now organized and settled. There are theatres, lectures, many handsome churches, and as much civilization as most men can admire. Almost the whole state of California is in a quiet settled condition; and an exentric [*sic*] English Colonel who came to it lately, left in extreme disgust at having made the mistake of visiting such a confounded civilized country. If things go on at this rate, there will soon be no corner of the world left for the men of nature to retire to when they want a little privacy for communing with her.

China Mail, August 29 [1861].

Overland China Mail, Hongkong, No. 243, 12 September 1861, pp. 970-971.

(To be concluded)

NOTES

1. The *Bald Eagle* was an extreme clipper ship built by Donald McKay at East Boston in 1852. Her dimensions were: tonnage 1703.62, length 215.8 feet, beam 41.2 feet, depth 23.6 feet. She was owned throughout her career by George B. Upton of Boston. After four round voyages between New York and San Francisco in 1852-56, she entered the China and trans-Pacific trades. On the voyage after that described here, she sailed from Hong Kong for San Francisco on Oct. 15, 1861, with a full cargo of rice, sugar, and tea, as well as $100,000 in treasure, and was never heard from again. No traces of wreckage were found, and it has been supposed that she foundered in a typhoon in the China Sea.

2. Edward C. Nickels, a famous captain of American sailing ships, commanded the *John Q. Adams* from 1844 to 1850, the *Flying Fish* from 1851 to 1859, and went to the *Bald Eagle* in 1860. He left the ship when she returned to Hong Kong after the voyage described here, and later died there of yellow fever.

3. Rutherford Alcock was then British consul-general at Yedo, and Townsend Harris was United States minister-resident in Japan. They differed in both personality and policy; during the period 1859-62, when they were both in Japan, it was difficult for them to carry out any program of diplomatic cooperation. *See*, for example, *Alta California*, Apr. 29, 1861, "The Troubles in Japan," including letter from Harris dated Feb. 12, 1861.

4. The Emigration Act contained the Hong Kong regulations governing conditions aboard ships carrying Chinese emigrants.

5. At this time, large numbers of coolies were being imported into Cuba as plantation labor. In this, and in other trades where Chinese were sent under contract in what amounted to conditions of slavery, there were occasional outbreaks of violence among the coolies aboard ship.

6. H. F. Edward was a member of the firm of Edward and Balley, commission merchants.

7. The *Bald Eagle's* arrival in San Francisco on Apr. 25, 1861, was reported in the *Alta California* of Friday the 26th. On the 27th, under "Personal," appeared

this item: "Mr. A. Wilson, editor of the *China Mail* newspaper of Hongkong, is in this city on his way to London."

8. The Union Club occupied rooms at the northwest corner of Montgomery and California streets.

9. On April 25, 1861, during a discussion in the state assembly on the reform-school bill, D. L. Haun of Yuba used language toward James A. Banks of San Francisco which resulted in his temporary arrest by the sergeant-at-arms. After adjournment, while Banks still sat at his desk on the floor of the assembly, Haun approached him and struck him on the head with a heavy hickory cane, laying open a gash over an inch long. Bystanders intervened and prevented a second blow. A special committee was appointed by the assembly to investigate the incident. Banks was a Republican and Haun a well-known Secessionist.

10. Charles St. George Cleverly was surveyor general of Hong Kong in 1861 and an active member of the legislative council.

11. John G. Downey was governor of California from Jan. 14, 1860, to Jan. 10, 1862.

12. John Nugent was one of the founders of the San Francisco *Daily Herald* in 1850. He fought duels in 1852 and 1853, both arising out of his editorial policy. In each of them he was injured. Nugent was the candidate of the pro-slavery or "chivalry" Democrats for the gubernatorial nomination in 1859 and was runner-up for election to the U. S. senate in 1861.

13. David C. Broderick, U. S. senator from California, fought a duel with David S. Terry, chief justice of the supreme court of California, on Sept. 13, 1859. He was mortally wounded and died on Sept. 16.

14. The *White Cloud* was a wooden, side-wheel steamer of 520 tons, built in New York by Thomas Collyer in 1858-59 for service in China. She was owned by J. M. Forbes. Sailing from New York on March 2, 1859, she arrived in Hong Kong on June 7 of the same year, and entered the trade between Hong Kong and Canton.

At the time of Wilson's visit to California, there was brisk competition in the San Francisco-Sacramento trade. The well-established California Steam Navigation Co. had the *Chrysopolis* and *Antelope* in service, and the "opposition" line was running the *Nevada* and *John T. Wright*. Passenger fares were $1 cabin and $0.25 deck with freight $1 a ton. The steamers raced with enthusiasm; nevertheless, no boiler explosion occurred in that particular trade that year.

15. John Carmel Heenan, the "Benicia Boy," a prize-fighter, was at the height of his fame in 1861.

16. The Sacramento Valley Railroad was completed from Sacramento to Folsom in 1856. It was absorbed by the Central Pacific Railroad in 1865, and eventually became a part of the Placerville Branch of the Southern Pacific.

17. Folsom was laid out in 1855 by Theodore D. Judah as the temporary terminus of the Sacramento Valley Railroad.

18. Lane, Crawford & Co. was a Hong Kong firm of general storekeepers and importers of all manner of American and European goods.

19. Francis C. Belden.

20. There were 14 daily newspapers in San Francisco in 1861.

21. C. O. Gerberding, James W. Simonton, and George K. Fitch were editors and proprietors of the *Daily Evening Bulletin* in 1861.

22. Edward Gilbert, editor of the *Alta California*, was killed in a duel with J. W. Denver in Aug. 1852. On May 14, 1856, James King of William, editor of the *Bulletin*, was shot in the street by James P. Casey. King died on May 20.

Techniques and Implements of the American Whale-Fishery

From an Early Japanese Account

Edited by ROBERT F. HEIZER; *Translated by* HITOSHI WATANABE

IN 1940, while I was a member of the teaching staff in anthropology at the University of Oregon and was engaged, at the same time, in writing a doctoral dissertation on aboriginal whale-hunting, Prof. A. R. Moore of that institution showed me a manuscript, the third volume of a work called "Bandan [Western Stories]," acquired some years before, when he was attached to the University of Sendai, Japan. The manuscript consists of 64 doubled or folded sheets of mulberry paper,* sewn together along one edge to bind the pages together. Translator of the portion with which the present article is concerned is Hitoshi Watanabe, a former student of the University of Oregon.

Included in Volume III are sections on ship construction; on the techniques of whaling, butchering of cows, salt-making and printing; miscellaneous; translation of the history of the United States, and history of the Sandwich Islands; also included is the narrative of another fisherman, Chôjirô.

For information on the author, a Japanese named Jirokichi, I am indebted to Prof. Eiichiro Ishida, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Tokyo, who, while on a visit to Berkeley in July 1953, was successful in discovering data on the manuscript's origin, at the East Asiatic Library, University of California, in Kenji Kiyono's *Taiheiyo*

---

*Dard Hunter, in his *Papermaking Through Eighteen Centuries* (New York, 1930), pp. 157-58, says that in the province of Sekishu, Japan, as late as the eighteenth century, "Hand-beating was used to reduce the mulberry bark (makoso) to a pulp. . . ." Paper was usually made in winter, because that fabricated in spring was not considered so fine. In Tonkin, French Indo-China, Hunter says, present-day workers in paper still follow the ancient Chinese mortar-and-hand-wielded-pestle method, mulberry bark being readily beaten in this way after it has been soaked and boiled in lime.

ni okeru Minzoku Bunka no Koryu [*Interchange of Peoples and Cultures in the Pacific*], Tokyo, Sôgensha, 1944, pp. 401-38. Professor Ishida tells me that "Bandan" is a record, in three volumes, of the observations that Jirokichi made during the years 1838-43, and that these observations were taken down in 1848[?] by an anonymous writer. Jirokichi, himself, was the only literate member of a group of thirteen fishermen from Toyama, whose ship became derelict on her way from Hakodate (in Hokkaido) to Edo (Tokyo) in 1838 and was rescued by an American whaler in April 1839. The men were landed on Hawaii in September 1839, and, after eleven months' stay on the islands, were sent to Kamchatka on board a British vessel in July 1840. In May 1841, they were taken to Okhotsk by a Russian boat. A year later (May 1842) they left Okhotsk on board a Russian ship for the Aleutian Islands. They arrived at Sitka, Alaska, in July, from which port they were sent back to Etorofu (in the Kuriles) in May 1843. No copy of "Bandan" has ever been published; manuscript copies do exist, however, and the story of Jirokichi is known to scholars in Japan.

A year or two earlier (1846), J. Ross Browne's *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise* . . . was published in New York by Harper & Bros. Inserted in the text between pages 52 and 57 are line-cuts, executed by A. A. von Schmidt from Browne's own sketches. They show the tools of the trade — harpoon, lance, spade, boarding knife, blubber knife, fork, strainer, dipper, pike, drag, tub — together with a brief description of each. The contrast between the rugged style of representation in the New York volume and the delicacy of the Japanese rendering of the same tools, personnel, and processes, as reproduced in the accompanying plates, gives a peculiar value to Jirokichi's account of an industry whose ships once crowded San Francisco Bay.

JIROKICHI'S ACCOUNT

In the Jirokichi manuscript, the section on whaling, including the pages with illustrations, covers sheets number 20 to 26, and reads as follows:

While I was on a big ship during April to September, fourteen whales were caught. The biggest one was seventy-two feet (12 taku) long. The whaling is quite different from ours.[2] If the foremost whale of a group is found spouting, three launches, each accommodating six men, are sent to pursue it. When they approach within six feet of the whale, the animal may get angry and lash its tail and thus damage the boat, and the launch will be filled with water. Experts throw the harpoon into the "breast" of the whale so that the whale is worn out very quickly, and cannot smash the boat with its tail. The harpooner throws two or three harpoons and then stops.

The harpoon (Plate 1) has a strong and long rope, and sometimes has a branch rope attached to the handle. When you pull the main rope it draws the branch rope, and the handle is drawn out; then only the iron point alone will remain in the body of the whale. Barbs cause the point to remain fast in the body. The length of the main rope is about two hundred taku (1200 feet). The whale runs (after being struck) about a hundred taku (600 feet), and gets tired and has a little rest. Then they pull the rope into the boat, and taking advantage of its being tired, stick his breast through with a long lance (Plate 1). Then the whale dies completely.

In order to cut the whale up, one end of the rope is tied to the mid-mast pulley (Plate 3) and more than ten sailors take each side of the windlass (Plates 3, 4) and turn it. Three or four sailors with spades (Plates 3, 7) in their hands stand on a plank staging hung with ropes outside the boat. The tail of the whale is secured with an iron chain[3] which makes it easy for them to turn the whale over. The tail of the whale always faces toward the bow of the boat; this is to allow the boat to move more easily when the occasion should arise.

The order of cutting up is first to peel off the skin of the head; in the second place, to make a hole into the head, and take out the brain;[4] in the third place to cut off the lower jaw; in the fourth place, to cut the head into pieces; and in the fifth place, to peel all the skin (i.e., blubber) off the body. The method of peeling is to put the hook through the strip of blubber (Plate 3) and with a spade cut between the end of the black skin and the flesh. The width of the skin strip is three feet, and in thickness, together with the blubber, five or six inches. According to the rotation of the whale's body, the skin is peeled as one peels a fruit. When the peel comes on board four or five feet, another hook is put in. Then the blubber is cut off with a big knife and dropped into the boat. Thus all the skin is peeled off.

Except the white fat, all meat and bones are thrown away. The white fat (blubber) is first cut into squares measuring five or six inches to one foot, then cut into slices a half inch thick. Expert slicers can slice them into pieces less than one-tenth inch thick. The slicing knife (Plate 2) has a handle on both ends, and resembles our (i.e., Japanese) medicine-knife. Three big iron pots (Plate 6) are placed in the middle of the ship, and in them are boiled the pieces of sliced blubber. With a leaking dipper (i.e., a strainer, Plate 2), skin and other impurities are taken off. Oil is poured into a big pot (a cooling pot) in which is a screen. When the oil gets cooled, a lower outlet is opened, and the wooden barrels (Plate 6) are filled. These accommodate five to ca. twenty gallons. A whale the size of six or seven taku[5] yields oil amounting to 150 barrels (i.e., about three thousand gallons). The oil is very clean, and has no odor, and is good for cooking, but in western countries it is always used only for burning in lamps. The impurities are put under the oven and used as fuel to render oil. Therefore, they do not have much wood and fuel on board the ship.

The big-headed whale (Plate 8) is called the Sperm Whale (*Makkokujira*). The spout hole is in the front of the head; the teeth are like animal's fangs. There is a hole in the upper gum to accommodate these fangs. These teeth can be used for the handles of drawers.[6] The head is filled with grease. Making a big hole in the head, they scoop out the fat with a pail, and after keeping it for a short time it becomes hard and resembles wax.

The small-headed whale (Plate 8) is called Fenbekiton[7] (*Iwashikujira,* or Sardine Whale). This is very common, and is of poor quality. The spout hole is in the rear part of the head. The "teeth" have bristles; this is whale beard[8] and is used by craftsmen.[9] Western people don't ordinarily catch them because they do not have much oil. They take only the underside of the head, but, in the case of an old whale, the backbone can be used as a lamp dish.[10]

NOTES

1. Exactly similar incidents are on record. For details, *see:* Hawaiian Hist. Soc., *Papers,* no. 18 (Honolulu, 1931); also, J. F. G. Stokes, "Japanese Cultural Influences in Hawaii," Fifth Pacific Science Congress, Canada, 1933, *Proc.* (Toronto, 1934), IV, 2791-2803.

2. This is certainly true. The Japanese, for example, use heavy nets in the capture of large whales. For details, *see* K. von Möbius, "Ueber den Fang und die Verwertung der Walfische in Japan," Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Berlin, *Sitzungsber.* (1893), no. 52, pp. 1053-1072.

3. The so-called "fluke-chain"; for which, *see* G. B. Goode et al, *The Fisheries and Fishing Industries of the United States* (Washington, 1887), Sect. V, plate 204.

4. This is not an illogical error for a novice. The "brain" referred to here is the

oil and spermaceti which fills the "case," or reservoir, in the head of the Sperm Whale. The contents of the case are referred to as "head-matter."

5. A taku is about six feet.

6. Sailors were accustomed to carve and work these teeth of the Sperm Whale into various forms. The practice was known as "scrimshawing."

7. This is a Japanese attempt at remembering and transcribing an English word. It may refer to the Humpback (*Megaptera versabilis*), although the illustration (Pl. 8) does not much resemble the Humpback which might be anticipated, since the Sperm Whale is very faithfully delineated. This name probably refers to the Finback or "Finbacked" Whale (*Balaenoptera physalus*).

8. The Japanese term; Occidental whalers call it whalebone.

9. For corset stays, for example.

10. It is not clear what is meant here, unless a vertebra is modified for use as a lamp.

The Joaquin Miller Foundation

By William W. Winn

Among all of the many notable adopted sons of California, none has been better advertised than Joaquin Miller, whose real name was Cincinnatus Heine Miller.

Cincinnatus ran away from home when fifteen years of age, worked as a cook in the mines, fought Indians and was badly wounded in the face and neck with an arrow, was nursed by Indians and lived among them, helped to drive horses from Mexico across the Colorado Desert and Arizona to the Shasta Valley, lived among the Modoc Indians for a time, rode pony express between Millersburg, Idaho, and Walla Walla, Washington, attended Columbia College[1] at Eugene, studied law, was admitted to the bar, was married and divorced, and edited a newspaper called the Eugene *Review, Register, Guard,* in which he had invested. The paper was discontinued because the government, objecting to his editorials expressing sympathy with the southern states during the Civil War, denied it the use of the mails. All of the time he was writing poetry. In 1870, Joaquin went to Scotland and then to London. He was unknown, and had to struggle to attain fame as a poet.

An instance of the criticism he had met, locally, before his departure is to be seen in Bret Harte's letter of August 19, 1869. Harte, then editor of the *Overland Monthly,* was returning two poems Miller had submitted for publication. Among the reasons the *Overland's* editor gave for rejecting the poems was Miller's choice of subjects, as it seemed, said Harte,

> to foster and develop a certain theatrical tendency and feverish exaltation, which would be better under restraint, just now. I see nothing in you worse than faults of excess, which you can easily check by selecting less emotional themes for your muse. You are on your way to become a poet, and will, by and by, learn how much strength as well as beauty lies in repose. . . . Yet I would not have you false to your dramatic taste, but only suggest to you to develop your other faculties equally. . . .

Under "Notes from an Old Journal" in his book, *Memorie and Rime*[2], Miller remarks on November 2, 1870, that he is at last "in the central city of this earth," and that he has been there for three days. He says on February 27, 1871: "I have nearly given up this journal to get out a book. I wanted to publish a great drama called 'Oregonia,' but finally wrote an easy-going little thing which I called 'Arizonian,' and put the two together and called the little book 'Pacific Poems.' It has been ready for the printer a long time. But here one can not get a publisher at all unless one pays for it. And my money is out, . . . and I have nothing to pay with." A month later (March 20), is this entry: "Published! And without a publisher! No publisher's imprint is on my little book; a sort of illegitimate child, I have sent it forth to the press for a character."

March 26: "Eureka! The St. James Gazette says 'Arizonian' is by Browning!

"Walter Thurnbury, Dickens' dear friend, and a better poet than I can hope to be, has hunted me up, and says big things of 'Pacific Poems' in the London Graphic."

On April 19, Joaquin says: "The book came out; and in the whirl of events that followed, the 'notes' were neglected. It was a great day—a great year. Such a lot of favors and countless courtesies! For example, I had three letters in succession come to me signed 'Dublin.' I could not answer or even read all of my letters, and so was not particularly disturbed or elated to find these letters from 'Dublin,' whoever 'Dublin' might be. But one of my young Irish friends discovered these letters one day, and fairly caught his breath! 'His Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin! He wants you to breakfast with him. Why, your fortune is made!' The doors of all social London are wide open!"

How "open" they were he tells on Aug. 3: "At 'Dublin's' breakfast, I met Robert Browning, Dean Stanley, Lady Augusta, a lot more ladies and a duke or two, and, after breakfast, 'Dublin' read to me—with his five beautiful daughters grouped about—from Browning, Arnold, Rossetti and others, till the day was far spent. When I went away he promised to send me his books. He did so." Miller said he took the books with him to America, where he opened them and discovered that "Dublin" was Richard Chenevix Trench, author of *The Study of Words*, with which he was familiar. Trench—a poet, authority on words, and Anglican archbishop of Ireland since January 1864—must, by his recognition of Miller, have helped greatly to establish him in the English literary world.[3]

September 28, 1871, Miller says in *Memorie* . . .: "I cannot forget that dinner with Dante Rossetti, just before leaving London.... All London, or rather all the brain of London, the literary brain, was there. And the brain of all the world, I think, was in London."

In *The Life, Times and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton,* by T. Wemyss Reid[4], is an account of the acquaintance between Houghton and Joaquin Miller, from which the following is quoted:

> When Mr. Miller came to England... one of the first to welcome him was Lord Houghton. He had heard of him through American friends, had been greatly struck by the originality of his writings, and made haste to receive him as a brother poet and man of letters. He had shown the same attention to so many other visitors from abroad that there was nothing specially noticeable about his reception of Joaquin Miller; but it resulted in a warm friendship between the two men, and many of Mr. Miller's letters afford proof of his gratitude toward one who did his best to make him feel at home in English society, a gratitude of which evidence was afforded by the dedication of his completed poems to Lord Houghton.

It is interesting to read portions of Bret Harte's letter to his wife, September 6, 1878,[5] in which he says: "I came up from Froude's to London quite ill.... While waiting here, however, I got an invitation from Mrs. Webb, the hostess of Newstead Abbey, to visit her there. I think I am indebted somewhat to Mr. Miller for this first introduction to some of the best people in England—for he was visiting the Abbey at the time...." Harte's letter, describing the beauty and historic atmosphere of this former home of Lord Byron and the great people whom he met there, is long and indicates that he was strongly impressed with the importance of the new acquaintances he made as a result of this visit.

It is not necessary to repeat the stories, frequently told, of how, through Lord Houghton, Miller became acquainted with Swinburne, Tom Hood Jr., Lord Tennyson, Rossetti, Edward Prince of Wales, Queen Victoria, Gladstone and Lily Langtry. Commenting on Miller's experiences, the San Francisco *Examiner* (Feb. 18, 1913) said: "... The sojourn in England was the most exalted period of his life, and he returned to America in 1879 [this seems to be an error; other authorities say it was in 1878] with a great reputation and $90,000 in cash. He promptly lost his $90,000 on a false stock market tip."

For a half dozen years after Miller's return to the United States, he lived in New York (where, on March 12, 1879, he was married to Abbie

M. Leland), and in Washington, D. C. In 1885 he came back to California, joined the staff of Harr Wagner's *Golden Era* as associate editor, and, in 1886, started a vigorous campaign to arouse interest in planting trees on the barren hills surrounding San Francisco Bay. This resulted in much publicity. A group gathered for action. Gen. O. O. Howard, the Civil War veteran, commander of the department of the Pacific, authorized tree planting on Yerba Buena Island and had his soldiers prepare the ground. Adolph Sutro, constructor of the Sutro Tunnel and owner of Sutro Forest in San Francisco, furnished the young trees.

November 26, 1886, was set as Arbor Day, the Oakland *Tribune* of the next day describing the events in detail. Thousands of children were carried to Yerba Buena Island by steamers and tugs. The planting was on the southwestern slope, where a space large enough for a cross, 300 feet long and 225 feet wide, had been cleared. At eleven o'clock the excursionists gathered in a circle to hear the speakers, among them General Howard. He said that it seemed to be his fortune to be a substitute (referring to the fact that he had been called to fill-in for another speaker), but during the war he was not a substitute. The war was over, and they had gathered there, maid and matron, youth and age, full of enthusiasm in a noble purpose—to plant the cross. It was a glad occasion in which all could unite without regard to race, religion, or sectional prejudice. It was an occasion so catholic in its nature that the whole world might join in the beautiful ceremony, to the end that waste places might be made to fructify and smile in the face of bountiful nature. The planting of the cross was emblematic of good will to all men, and the inauguration of Arbor Day in this state should serve as an example for others—it was an occasion symbolical of love for the Lord our God, and love of our neighbors as ourselves.

In his address, Adolph Sutro said:

> One hundred years from today, the people who will then inhabit this country will celebrate the centennial of this occasion, but none of us will be present in the flesh. Even our children will have passed away, and our children's children and our great grand-children will gather on this spot to commemorate the event we are now participating in.... Then the people of the Pacific Coast will number as many as now comprise the population of the United States, and they will wander through the majestic groves rising from the trees we are now planting, reverencing the memory of those whose foresight clothed the earth with emerald robes and made nature beautiful to look upon.

He hoped that Arbor Day would be observed every year and that the planting of trees would continue until these children, in manhood's prime, should move mid majestic forests planted by them in the golden days of their happy childhood. "Each tree should be marked with a slip of wood bearing the name of the person who planted it, so that the trees might be found and identified in after years."

The first tree, a young cypress, was planted by Mr. Sutro, and beside it another by Doña "Conchita" Fuller Ramirez, whose father, Juan Casimiro Fuller, once ran his goats on the island.† She said in part: "As I touch this tender little tree, which I plant in memory of my father, I hope that it will come to full maturity, and that musical birds may find shelter in its foliage. And over the shadowy groves that robe this island may no other banner wave but the Stars and Stripes, the flag of our Country, the flag we love, emblem of liberty and loyal devotion to the living principles that have made and preserved us as a nation."

Joaquin Miller, who had recited a poem, planted a tree and another for his little daughter, Juanita Miller. Miss Ina Coolbrith planted one, and Gen. Mariano G. Vallejo made a speech and planted one also. The children planted their trees until the great cross stood clearly defined in cypress, locust, poplar and forest trees. John P. Irish then spoke with characteristic eloquence. This concluded the exercises.

All of the trees planted that day were destroyed by fires which ravaged the hillside at later dates. Nevertheless, Joaquin Miller kept green the memory of Arbor Day 1886 by using a printed account* of the celebration as a letterhead on his personal stationery. On December 25, 1892, he wrote on a sheet of this paper to Joseph Marshall Stoddart,[6] editor of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine:*

> My dear Sir, I thank you cordially and am only too glad you were not bored with the story. I today write to Mr. Flower[7] of the "Arena" Boston telling him you will forward *him* the *MSS.* I also enclose him your letter desiring the thing: which is but fair to him. Hamlin Garland[8] has been with me here. He says all sorts of good things about you. Now will you please forward the stuff to Mr. Flower and count me your debtor in many ways. With love to you & yours
>
> Joaq Miller

---

†He was also known as John and/or Jack Fuller. *See* H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1885), III, p. 750; and W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 184.

*In which, however, the date is misstated.

Miller wrote copiously—always with a quill pen—and his letters (including the one just quoted, now in my possession) and manuscripts were very difficult to read. Many of them were rewritten for him by his wife. John P. Young, in his *Journalism in California,* refers to this illegibility, saying that when Miller became a regular contributor to the *Daily Morning Chronicle* (San Francisco) it was "to the great grief of the editors, who were called upon to decipher his wretched chirography, which was also the despair of the printers, and was received by them only under protest. Occasionally the poet's copy was so bad it had to be relegated to the waste basket."[9]

JOAQUIN MILLER'S EAST-BAY PROPERTY

On May 13, 1887, Francis S. Spring executed a deed to Cincinnatus Heine Miller covering 52.47 acres of land in San Antonio Rancho, Alameda County, California, the consideration named being $10.[10] It was a barren hillside, the original redwood forest having been logged off except in the canyon. According to Harr Wagner, the first thing Miller did was to plant pine and fir in the form of an immense cross, so that it would be visible many miles away. His habit was to dig about them and water them daily, that he might become familiar with each tree. The water he got from the creek.[11]

At the lower end of his property, bordering on the road, he erected five buildings, all facing the west. The northernmost of these was the guest house. In the next his mother lived; the next was a dining hall called the Willow Cottage, and in the next he himself lived and worked. It was called the Abbey. The last building was the cottage of his daughter, Juanita Miller.

On September 22, 1887, Francis S. Spring deeded to Abbie Leland Miller, wife of C. H. Miller, land comprising 22.53 acres.[12]

Joaquin did his writing in the morning; in the afternoon he worked hard at his planting and other improvements, and received his friends, including poets, newspaper men, and writers of all kinds. Many volunteer workers came out in parties and assisted in his landscaping.

When gold was discovered in Alaska, with the wild times and excitement that followed, Miller was sent by the Hearst newspapers to describe what he saw and heard. Accordingly, in 1897 he went over Chilkoot Pass, walking more than 400 miles along the edge of the Arctic Circle.[13] He brought back with him from the north a complete fur suit, with buttons made from genuine gold nuggets. This he wore when he lectured on his experiences in Alaska; as for the mines he had located, they proved to be worthless.[14]

With the advance of age, Joaquin Miller gradually grew feeble, and death came to him at "The Hights," his place in the hills east of Oakland, on February 17, 1913. The San Francisco *Examiner* of February 18, 1913, mentioned his picturesqueness, saying that he "was acclaimed by the admirers of his later days as the greatest of living American poets. By another great faction of his fellow citizens he was dubbed the 'Prince of American Posers'." The San Francisco *Chronicle* of the same day expressed the opinion that,

> Of all California poets, the work of Joaquin Miller is likely to endure the longest, because it reflects most perfectly the life of the pioneer and the builders of this far western empire. There is no smell of the lamp about his literary productions. They belong to the great spaces of nature.... They breathe the spirit... of the solitary miner's camp, of the cowboy's lonely haunts....

Miller's desire that his body be cremated upon the pyre he had built was impossible of fulfillment, because of legal restrictions. His body was, however, cremated in the prescribed manner, and his funeral services were held at "The Hights" on Sunday, May 25, 1913, at 2:30 P.M. About 500 persons assembled, including Bohemian Club members. Charles K. Field, president of this San Francisco organization, who acted as master of ceremonies, spoke of Joaquin Miller as one of their oldest members; he was, Field said, "one of a brilliant number of poets and geniuses who made the [Bohemian] Club famous in the olden days, the last of whom is Ina Coolbrith, an honorary member and one of the few women to be so honored." Club-member Richard Hotaling read an original poem, "Vale, Joaquin," written by Ina Coolbrith.

Prominent on the program was Prof. William Dallam Armes of the Department of English, University of California, who addressed those present on "Joaquin Miller and his Work."[15] The old west, Armes said, had lost "its truest exponent," in the death of Miller. "... Thanks to lessons learned from Tennyson and Swinburne," Armes continued,

> Miller was able to give to his lines a verbal music for which one would look in vain in the poems of Byron, and his sensuousness did not degenerate into the crass sensuality that sometimes disfigures the work of the elder poet.
>
> That success led Miller to become a prolific writer. Book after book—poems, dramas and novels—came from his pen in quick succession and it soon became evident that his art, instead of maturing and developing, was degenerating, owing to the haste with which he was producing. Much of the work was distinctly

> ephemeral, and in later days he was himself its severest critic. The novels and plays he condemned in toto, notwithstanding the success of the "Danites" on the stage; several of the long poems he suppressed; from other poems he retained in the definitive edition of his works only a few extracts that he significantly calls "pictures."
>
> Whatever Miller may have been in his youth, certainly in middle and old age he was a gentle, kind-hearted, clean-spoken man; unconventional to be sure, but full of love for the good, the true and the beautiful as he apprehended them. . . . I knew him fairly well for more than twenty-five years. . . .
>
> As he grew older these aspects of his personality came to be more and more prominent in his poetry. But honesty of thought and deed, kindliness and purity are homely, commonplace virtues; and his later poems were by no means so enthusiastically received as the early ones had been. And in truth his was not the magic touch that could transfigure "things common till they rose to touch the spheres." Occasionally he produced a lyric such as "The Song of the Dove," full of haunting verbal music; a threnody, such as "The Passing of Tennyson," splendid in imagery and with a grave and majestic melody and movement; or such a poem as "Columbus," by which the heart of the reader is "moved more than with a trumpet"; but the bulk of his later poetry is—I say it with regret—comparatively negligible. But, after all, what is this but saying that in this respect he did not differ from Wordsworth, Browning or Tennyson. . . .

Next on the program was Robert Louis Stevenson's "Requiem," sung by sixty Bohemian Club members to music by H. J. Stewart, while the crowd stood bare-headed. Then Col. John P. Irish, after speaking a few words, applied a lighted torch to a quantity of inflammable material on the funeral pyre. As the flames arose, a Bohemian Club chorus sang Joaquin's poem, "Good-by," originally written for Bret Harte, but adapted for Miller's own funeral services; it had been set to music by Wallace A. Sabin and was directed by John de P. Teller. At its close, Colonel Irish opened the copper urn, in which Joaquin Miller's ashes had reposed since his cremation, and scattered them into the flames, for their final distribution by air currents.[16]

JOAQUIN MILLER PARK

On October 10, 1919, Abbie Leland Miller, widow of Joaquin, and Juanita Miller, his daughter, executed a deed[17] to the City of Oakland conveying an undivided one-quarter interest in two parcels of land, the first being the 52.47 acres deeded by Francis S. Spring to Cincinnatus Heine Miller, May 13, 1887; and, the second, the 22.53 acres deeded by Francis S. Spring to Abbie Leland Miller, September 22, 1887. Exempted from the deed were five parcels of land, which had already been deeded away, as follows:

> (1) three acres to John Werner; (2) three acres to A. W. Darling and wife; (3) one and one-half acres to Lillian F. Waterhouse; (4) approximately one-quarter acre to Lillian F. Waterhouse; and (5) a parcel of land, 104.50 ft. x 104.50 ft., containing approximately one-quarter acre, deeded to Juanita Miller, January 11, 1913.[18]

This was the last of four similar deeds from Abbie Leland Miller and Juanita Miller, each of which conveyed to the City of Oakland an undivided one-quarter interest in the same property, the consideration being $8,250, the total consideration being $33,000.

So Joaquin Miller's property, known during his occupancy as "The Hights," became the nucleus of what is now Joaquin Miller Park. Other properties acquired by the city supplement it. The Woodminster Amphitheatre stands near John C. Fremont's monument.

On September 9, 1928, the Historical Landmarks Committee of the Order of Native Sons of the Golden West assembled in front of the Abbey and unveiled a memorial tablet reading as follows:

> Joaquin Miller, "Poet of the Sierras," resided on these acres named by him "The Hights," from 1886 to 1913. In this building, known as "The Abbey," he wrote "Columbus" and other poems. The surrounding trees were planted by him and he personally built, on the eminence to the north, the funeral pyre and the monuments dedicated to Moses, General John C. Fremont and Robert Browning. "The Hights" was purchased by the City of Oakland in 1919.

Joseph R. Knowland and Mayor John L. Davie of Oakland were the principal speakers. Mrs. Abbie Leland Miller and Juanita Miller were present.

The trees which Joaquin Miller planted to form a cross are practically all gone now — removed to permit road construction — but other trees are there in abundance. Juanita Miller still lives in one of the cottages which her father built. In order to insure continuity to the care and maintenance of the Joaquin Miller relics, which she has for forty years provided, a Joaquin Miller Foundation is now being established, which will take over that responsibility as a perpetual function. It is Miss Miller's intention to endow it with all of her father's literary assets, copyrights, etc., as well as a sum of money. Public announcement is expected to be made upon Joaquin's birthday, November 10, 1953.

NOTES

1. On the subject of Columbia College, the library of the University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., has kindly sent me the following excerpt from the "Harrison R. Kincaid Manuscript," now in their collection:

There was a stone building on the hill south of this place in 1860 called Columbia College. It was controlled by J. H. D. Henderson, Jacob Gillespie, Harvey Small, and others representing the Cumberland Presbyterian church. They disagreed over the slavery question, Henderson being a Republican, afterward elected to Congress, with whom I went to Washington, and Gillespie being proslavery. A young man named Ryan was President and principal teacher. I was attending the school along with C. H. Miller ('Joaquin'), J. D. Miller, J. F. Watson, J. J. Walton, J. D. Matlock and others." Bitter feelings arose; Ryan ran away to Virginia and joined the Confederate army. Columbia College, Eugene, Ore., thereupon ceased to exist.

2. Joaquin Miller (b. Indiana, 1841), *Memorie and Rime* (New York, 1884), pp. 18, 23, 26-30. Juanita Miller's *My Father* ... (Oakland, c1941) includes memoranda on family life.

3. Other works by Trench are *English, Past and Present* (1855), and *A Select Glossary of English Words* (1859), All have gone through numerous editions.

4. T. Wemyss Reid, *The Life ... of Richard Monckton Milnes* ... (New York, 1891), II, 276.

5. *The Letters of Bret Harte*, ed. by Geoffrey Bret Harte (Boston and New York, 1926), p. 92.

6. At that time, Stoddart had been editor of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* for about two years *(Dictionary of American Biography)*.

7. B. O. Flower, editor of the Boston *Arena*, 1889-96. A search of the *Arena* for the years 1893-94 did not reveal anything by Joaquin Miller.

8. Hamlin Garland (b. Wisconsin, 1860) wrote, from personal experience, of the difficulties of farm life, and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1922 for his *Daughter of the Middle Border* (1921).

9. John P. Young, *Journalism in California* (San Francisco, 1915), p. 71.

10. Records of Alameda County, Calif., "Deeds," Book 320 (May 16, 1887), p. 456.

11. Harr Wagner, *Joaquin Miller and His Other Self* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 126. At the right in the letterhead, referred to in the text above, is a picture of "the Hights."

12. Records . . ., *op. cit.*, Book 444 (Aug. 28, 1891), p. 256.

13. San Francisco *Examiner*, Feb. 18, 1913.

14. Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

15. William Dallam Armes, in *University of California Chronicle*, XV (1913), 357.

16. The Oakland *Tribune* of May 26, 1913, reported the services at length.

17. Records . . ., *op. cit.*, Book 2829 (Oct. 10, 1919), p. 157.

18. *Ibid.*, Book 2157 (Jan. 23, 1913), p. 26.

Hans Herman Behr

German Doctor, California Professor and Academician, and "Bohemian"

By Robert T. Legge, M.D.

A hundred years ago, a German scientist entered the state through the harbor of San Francisco. He did not come for gold; in fact, he boasted that he had never included gold ore among the animate and inanimate specimens subjected to his scrutiny. Nature kept him busy in too many other ways. At the time of his death, the San Francisco *Chronicle* (March 7, 1904) said of him that he was "reckoned among mental giants." It said, further, that in many branches of science he was "an authority of world-wide prominence."

Hans Herman Behr was born on August 18, 1818, 42 miles NW of Leipzig at Coethen in the then-Duchy of Anhalt-Coethen. Three years later, Coethen was to be known among medical men as the home, by invitation of the grand duke, of Samuel C. F. Hahnemann, a native of Meissen and founder of homeopathy ("similia similibus curantur"), which subsequently became popular in San Francisco. Behr received instruction in the classics at schools in Zerbst and in Coethen, and studied natural science in the universities of Halle and Würzburg. At the age of twenty-four, he was granted (1843) a doctorate in medicine by the University of Berlin.

The last half of the 18th century, and far into the next, found botanists in Europe and Great Britain heavily overburdened with the work of arranging the masses of plants that were being brought in by their own exertions, and by the exertions of officially organized overland and overseas expeditions. The material was crowding herbariums and botanic gardens, and was creating an even more serious problem than that of physical accommodation. This was the problem of accommodating human minds to the lavishness of nature, so that her gifts could be analyzed and then separated, item by item, into categories* which would not diminish the glory of Creation, but, by bringing order out of the apparent disorder, increase the sense of wonder already existing among thoughtful men.** The response to both problems was quick. Herbariums and botanic gardens were expanded as to size and number;† natural history societies were founded and took up the work of publishing accounts of explorations, together with discussions on questions of the classification, definition, and description of specimens.†† By 1830, im-

---

*For rapid separation into categories, based on a *few* characters such as number of stamens and pistils, *see*, in English translation, *A System of Vegetables according to their Classes, Orders, Genera* . . . (Lichfield, 1782), by the Swedish botanist, Linnaeus (1707-1778). For separation according to a *multiplicity* of characters, in order to find whether, in their structure, there were natural affinities, that is, characters showing community of origin, as in races or breeds, *see* the works of Antoine Laurent de Jussieu (1748-1836), particularly *Genera Plantarum* . . . (Paris, 1789); *see also*, in English translation, *Elements of the Philosophy of Plants: containing the Principles of Scientific Botany* . . . (Edinburgh, 1821), by the Swiss A. P. de Candolle (1778-1841). The same year, William Jackson Hooker, in his *Flora Scotica*, published in London, used both systems, calling his book a description of Scottish plants "arranged both according to the artificial [Linnaeus'] and natural methods." Behr's comments on contemporary botanists will appear later in the present article.

**See, for example, popular poets of the time; viz., William Blake (1757-1827), who speaks in "Auguries of Innocence," of seeing "the world in a grain of sand.// And heaven in a wild flower." In his "Lines Composed a few Miles above Tintern Abbey" (1798), Wordsworth calls himself a "lover of . . . all the mighty world// Of eye and ear, — both what they half create,//And what perceive. . . ." In the last few lines, he heightens his devotion and says he is "a worshipper of Nature . . .//Unwearied in that service. . . ." Two decades pass, and one finds Lord Byron, in "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage" (4th Canto, clxxviii), saying: "I love not Man the less, but Nature more . . .//To mingle with the Universe, and feel//What I can ne'er express, yet cannot all conceal."

†A. R. Barton, keeper, Dept. Botany, British Mus., quotes Johann Gesner as saying that at the end of the 18th century there were 1600 botanic gardens in Europe (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., IV, p. 300).

††Among the early scientific periodicals were Kongl. Svenska Vetenskaps Akademien, *Nya Handlingar* (1780-1812), and *Handlingar*, ser. 3 (1813-54), Stockholm; Naturhistorie Selskabet, *Skrifter* (1790-1810), Copenhagen; Lin-

provements in the compound microscope began to open up new vistas and to throw a stronger light into old ones. Theories were advanced; all levels of society watched, meanwhile, and listened. It was an inspiring scene, and at its threshold in 1843 stood H. H. Behr, hat – and university degree – in hand.

Among the theorists were two Germans, Alexander von Humboldt and Karl Ritter. Just after the start of the 19th century, von Humboldt and A. Bonpland drew up a geography of plants (*Essai sur la Géographie des Plantes*, Paris, 1805); in 1845-47, after the senior author had had forty years of travel and study, the first two volumes of his *Kosmos* were published in Stuttgart (also, in English transl., in London, 1845 ——). Von Humboldt pointed out that, in spite of nature's complexity, there was unity. The other German theorist, Karl Ritter, was on the faculty of the University of Berlin when Behr was a student. Ritter's theory, developed in the second edition of his *Die Erdkunde in Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen* (1822-58) was that geography, with its mountains, its rivers, etc., was a kind of *physiology* – a comparative anatomy – of the earth, and that this anatomy was an important element in the progress a nation was able to make. During his college days Behr had seen evidence, useful in generalizations of this sort, coming in from Australia. For example, in 1840-43, Charles Darwin's *Zoology of the Voyage of the Beagle* [the ship had returned to her base in October 1836] was published by the English government; and in 1842-43 there appeared in Volume II, pp. 135-41, of the *London Journal of Botany*, John Lhotsky's "Some Data toward the Botanical Geography of New Holland." Lhotsky speaks of "stately eucalyptus trees"; he also refers to an earlier investigator, the Scotsman Robert Brown, author of "The Botany of Terra Australis," which had been appended to Matthew Flinders' *Voyage [1801-1803] to Terra Australis*, and in which Brown had pointed out that the peculiarities of Australian flora lay between 33° and 35° south latitude, entitling him, Lhotsky said, to the distinction of having laid the foundation of the flora of New

---

naean Society of London, *Transactions* (1791-1875); *Anales de Historia Natural* (1799-1804), Madrid; Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, *Annales* (1802-13), Paris; Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou, *Mémoires* (1811-23); Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia, *Journal* (1817-39; also new ser.); Accad. Gioenia Scienze Naturali, *Atti* (1825 ...), Catania. *See* Benjamin Daydon Jackson, *Guide to the Literature of Botany* (London, 1881), pp. 453 ff for complete list.

Holland. Two years after publishing Lhotsky's article, the *London Journal of Botany* included in its Volume IV (1845), pages 278-91, Ludwig Leichhardt's "Scientific Excursions in New Holland." Leichhardt comments on the eucalyptus he had seen; also on the acacia, the melaleuca (tea tree), and the leptospermum. Thus, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Australia's fame as a field for naturalists was familiar to the public; and, before the half-century mark had been reached, Hans Herman Behr was adding to their findings, between the latitudes recommended by Brown.

The exact date of his arrival in Australia is not known, but by the end of 1846 or the beginning of 1847 he had seen enough of the natural history around Adelaide to warrant sending his impressions to the *Entomologische Zeitung*, Stettin, which included them in its June 1847 number, pages 167-74. The same year a more ambitious paper appeared in *Linnaea* (XX, 547-58), a journal of high rank, published in Halle. In it Behr gives his views on the general character and relationships of South Australian flora ("Ueber die Verhältnisse der Südaustralische Flor im Allgemeinen"), and he supplies the reader with a table, recording, from April of an unspecified year through March of the next, the seasonal appearances and characteristic sites of the species that make up the two general types of Australian flora—the scrub and the grasslands. He finds that plant life varies much less in the grasslands than it does in the scrub: that the genera in the scrub, particularly eucalyptus, leptospermum, melaleuca, pimelia, acacia, and myoporum, exhibit themselves in a nearly inexhaustible richness of species ("sich durch einen fast unerschöpflichen Artenreichthum auszeichnen"). Immediately following Behr's article are 115 pages devoted to determination and description of his specimens by the editor of *Linnaea*, Dietrich F. L. von Schlechtendal, who said that Behr had had the goodness to turn over his material to him. In summing up Behr's contribution, von Schlechtendal said (translation is mine):

> Hence it follows that under the 200 listed species, besides a few which we have laid aside as, for the present, not yet determined, there are 62 species which we must consider as new, and that the number of observed phanerogamous families [seed-bearing plants] amounts to 60.

It might be mentioned here that not until five years after publication of Behr's observations, and his emphasis on acacia and eucalyptus, did the same periodical (Vol. XXV, 1852, pp. 367-448) print the botanical researches of Ferdinand von Mueller, with whose name Australian flora is mostly associated. Appended to von Mueller's article is an acknowledgment of his indebtedness to Dr. Behr among the friends who had contributed to his collection of specimens, making it what he called "eine sehr reiche Pflanzensammlung."

As in the case of Behr's first departure from Germany to Australia, the date of his return to Europe is not known precisely, but, omitting for the moment the paper on Adelaide, his return must at least have been in time for von Schlechtendal to make identifications of the large array of specimens Behr had handed him (see above) and prepare them for the printer, and then, as editor of *Linnaea*, to see that both his manuscript and Behr's were fittingly set in type – all before the deadline was reached for their inclusion in the magazine's 1847 volume. Neither do we have the date on which Behr again left his native land. His interest in liberal ideas, when a student in college, is known from the sword scars on his face and from remarks he made, now and then, about duels to two of his close friends at the California Academy of Sciences – Miss Alice Eastwood, the present emeritus-curator of botany at the academy, and Mrs. Gwendolyn Newell, who, when Miss Eastwood was away, took over the duty (pleasure) of seeing that the doctor had proper food for lunch, including oranges, his favorite fruit. Conversation with these friends led them to believe that if he had remained in Germany during the political unrest of 1848, damage to his career and possibly to himself might have resulted.

Behr's return to Australia is corroborated by the appearance of a letter, written by him to Prof. G. Kunze of Leipzig (*Botanische Zeitung*, VII [1849], col. 873-76). It is dated April 14, 1849, from Tanunda, 35 miles NNE of Adelaide, and describes the vegetation along Murray River. From printed communications of this kind and also from the notes, attached to his specimens, giving the localities where they were found, an idea of Behr's activities can be obtained – this, in lieu of personal letters, diaries, and memoirs, of which none seems to have been preserved. Likewise helpful in reconstructing his biography are compilations, such as *Flora Australiensis* by George Bentham, assisted by Ferdinand Mueller (London, 1863): in Volume II, 357-58, for example, mention is made of *Acacia montana*, "east declivity of the scrub on the Murray, Behr"; in Volume III, 215-16, *Eucalyptus odorata*, Behr, is listed; and on page 249 one finds *Eucalyptus turbinata*, Behr and Muel-

LER, each identification being followed by citation to the name and date of the publication in which it was reported.

Besides his excursions in Australia, Behr is said by his associates§ to have traveled in Brazil, the East Indies, and the Philippines before coming to San Francisco in 1851. In the words of the San Francisco *Chronicle's* obituary, cited above: "The miasmas of swamps, the bites of the deadliest reptiles, the attacks of the fiercest of wild beasts were all braved by the intrepid naturalist. . . ." As to reports of investigations carried on by Behr in those areas – other than his work in Australia – none, so far as the present writer has been able to find out, has come down to us in the publications of scientific societies.

In 1853 Behr returned to Germany to marry Miss Agnes Omylska and bring her to San Francisco.* First mention of his name among the residents of San Francisco occurs in the San Francisco *Directory* for 1854: Behr, H., M.D., 115 Pine Street. After 1858, he is listed as physician or as physician and surgeon. In addition to his medical practice, he acted as consul for Dessau and Lübeck, 1860-61; and for Saxony and Anhalt, 1862-68. For many years (1861-79), he resided on Bryant Street near Fifth. Meanwhile, his office location changed frequently: 228 Stockton Street, 184 Washington, 638 Washington, 619 Montgomery, 646 Market, Bryant near Fifth (at his residence), 34 Ellis (office and residence), 509 Kearny. In 1887 he found a congenial home with Mrs. Ida Precht, widow of Dr. Carl Precht, and her family at 1215 Bush Street, where he continued to reside, among friends of his own nationality and customs, until his death in 1904. (*See* ADDENDUM, at close of this paper, for recollections of Behr by Mrs. Precht's granddaughter, Mrs. E. J. Etienne of San Francisco.)

---

§F. Gutzkow, George Chismore, and Alice Eastwood, *Report of the Committee appointed to prepare and present an Account of the Life and Services of Doctor Hans H. Behr, read before the California Academy of Sciences, March 21, 1904* (San Francisco, 1905).

*From this union there were two daughters and a son, Mrs. Behr dying shortly after the birth of the third child. The two daughters married and went to live in Germany. Hans C., the son, is listed, 1875-81, in the San Francisco *Directory* as a draughtsman at the Union Iron Works, and afterwards as a mechanical engineer with Salkeld & Eckart, prior to his departure from California to take up his career in South Africa.

News of California's floral riches began to spread from the day that members of La Pérouse's expedition went ashore at Monterey in 1785, as part of the great thirst (*and* search) for more knowledge about plants, mentioned earlier in this paper. Among the explorers just preceding Behr was the Englishman, William Lobb,** who arrived in San Francisco in 1849 and became associated in botanic work with Albert Kellogg of the California Academy of Sciences, organized on April 4, 1853. The first half of the 1850's also saw the Scotsman John Jeffrey botanizing on the slopes of Mount Shasta, and F. A. Wislizenus collecting specimens on the American River. Behr's work is noted in Volume II of J. D. Whitney's *Geological Survey of California* (Cambridge, Mass., 1880), where his collections are said to have been made "particularly before 1860, some of his specimens going to local collections, some to Hamburg, some to Russia and elsewhere."

Not only did 18th- and 19th-century exploring expeditions bring back great quantities of plants, but, preserved with equal care, were similar quantities of insect specimens, especially beetles and butterflies. For Dr. Behr, already practiced in observing nature's floral ways, it was only a short step — or an extension of the same step — toward an understanding of the creatures that were never far from their hosts. In 1855, in Volume I, *Proceedings*, California Academy of Sciences, are his comments on *Saturnia rubra*, a native silk worm, which had been found on *Ceanothus thyrsiflorus* and which he thought might prove "highly valuable." Less than a decade later, in the second volume (1862) of the same *Proceedings*, he was describing, with his customary insight into the world-wide connections of local phenomena, the butterfly *Danais archippus* Cramer, which can be seen, he said, any summer or autumn in San Francisco, "struggling against the western gale," and a colony of which then existed in the Hawaiian Islands. The local *Danais* were in the habit of feeding on the *Asclepias* (milkweed) growing on the east side of the bay. Consequently, the San Francisco specimens were an immigration, and it was not unusual for persons on the ferryboats to see "the uncouth but powerful flight" of this large species, traveling in an easterly direction toward their feeding grounds. At that time, the outer side of Telegraph Hill was one of the *Danais*' gathering places, whence a considerable number were "constantly seen sea-faring them-

---

**Alice Eastwood, "Early Botanical Explorers on the Pacific Coast," this Quarterly, XVIII (Dec. 1939).

selves out on the Pacific . . . somehow or other single individuals, favoured by concurring circumstances, may have reached, and reach now these distant islands [Hawaii] and be the founders and maintainers of this unexpected colony."

Behr seemed now to be as definitely interested in insect life as in botany. By 1863 he had amassed enough material on California butterflies (LEPIDOPTERA, called thus by Linnaeus in 1735 because of the minute scales, often brightly colored, on their wings) to address meetings of the California Academy of Sciences on the subject, and, by 1866-67, he was reporting on a new species of copperwing butterflies, *Chrysophanus rubidus,* from the interior of Oregon, to the Entomological Society of Philadelphia (*Proceedings,* VI, p. 208). In 1868, his "Californische Lepidopteren" appeared in the *Entomologische Zeitung,* Stettin (Vol. XXIX, pp. 294-303) – also published in English, in volumes II and III of the American Entomological Society's *Transactions.* As he penetrated further into this division of natural history, his dexterity in selecting exact, discriminating words to describe his specimens became more apparent. For instance, in the *Transactions* referred to above (Vol. II, p. 304), he says of the butterfly *Anthocaris Edwardsii,* nov. sp., ". . . it is of a silky, shining, lilac color marbled by short undulated lines of a darker hue with a reflex of olive color, that also tints the disk and anterior margin."

Meanwhile, he was experimenting with botanical species. At the regular meeting of the academy on April 7, 1874 (see *Proceedings,* Vol. V, p. 292), he reported his findings on the white mangrove, *Avicenus* [*Avicennia*] *officinalis,* a New Zealand plant and adapted to California conditions. It grew in the sea, as far out as the low-tide mark. "The seeds," he wrote, "are never dormant, but begin to germinate as soon as mature, whether in air, earth, or water. They always grow where not wanted, and do not always grow where they are wanted."

As stated in its *Prospectus* (1875), the California College of Pharmacy had been organized in 1872 by the California Pharmaceutical Society; incorporation had taken place in August of the same year, and, in December, H. H. Behr, M.D., had been appointed professor of botany, with William M. Searby holding similar rank in materia medica. The class of 1874 had consisted of twenty-three students. "The public sentiment of today," said the *Prospectus,* "demands a higher degree of proficiency in our calling than is found in the generality of our Drug stores.

. . . The College is now permanently located in Toland Hall, a fine building belonging to the University of California [with which the college had been affiliated that year]." Plans for the coming year called for instruction in chemistry, pharmacy, botany, and materia medica. As to botany, there were to be Friday 8:30 P.M. meetings of the class each week at Toland Hall, and Monday 1 P.M. meetings in the hall of the Academy of Sciences. Subjects of the lectures included structural, functional, and systematic botany, and the geography of plants. "Excursions," said the *Prospectus*, "are to be made into the country on alternate weeks during the session, for the purpose of collecting and studying indigenous plants, under the direction of the Professor." The text book in the course was specified as [Asa] Gray's *Botany*. This schedule gave Dr. Behr time for his medical practice; and one can suppose, also, that the "excursions" into the countryside of 1875, before the great growth in population and its vehicles of transport, must have given pleasure and ozone to professor and students alike.

As reported in the *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the California Pharmaceutical Society and of the Third Annual Meeting and Commencement Exercises of the California College of Pharmacy* (San Francisco, 1875), the president of the college, William T. Wenzell, took up the subject of Latin in his commencement-day address on October 12, 1875. The pharmaceutical schools of Europe, Wenzell said, required from their students "a knowledge of the classics, the Latin in particular, as it is the language of the sciences." He added that the International Pharmaceutical Congress, at its meeting in St. Petersburg the year before, had decided to adopt Latin as the language in which its projected "International Pharmacopoeia" should be issued. Included also in the *Proceedings* of 1875 were the questions submitted by the examining board to candidates for the degree of graduate in pharmacy. The following were posed by Dr. Behr as professor of botany:

> (1) Give one or several classes of the Linnaean system, that coincide with families of the natural system; (2) What is the difference between a true root, a bulb, and a rhizome? (3) Describe decassate leaves (foliae decassatae); (4) Tell the difference between Caryopsis and Achaenium; (5) Tell one of the differences in the structure between Belladonna and Hyoscyamus.

A decade and a half had passed since the appearance of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859), and these questions would seem to have been designed to bring out how aware the student was of the discussions going on around him, between those who favored the Linnaean system of classification and those who, conscious of the implications of Darwin's theory, were on the side of the broader, natural system. (It will be remembered that at this time Darwin's theory was being kept before the public for other than botanic reasons.)

By December 1880, it was possible for Dr. Behr, in making the valedictory on behalf of the faculty, to comment on the fact that it was the eighth commencement-day and that the college had "grown into a useful and influential institution."* He asked his hearers to imagine themselves in a drug store of a hundred years ago. They would see dried vipers and lizards, etc., etc., all of them causing trouble to custom-house officers, who were at a loss how to classify them. Most of these things, he said, were no longer prescribed by physicians, but they still kept their place in the drug stores. After Joseph Priestley's discovery of oxygen in 1774, the science of chemistry "took a new form, but . . . there may exist even nowadays, in some out of the way corner an old gentleman living half in his drug store, half in a venerable library of fossil books, who shrugs his shoulders at CO_2." Dr. Behr then mentioned another event of nearly equal importance – the discovery of morphine some forty years after Priestley's announcement. Next came, slowly at first then in rapid succession, the discovery of one alkaloid after another. "The *modus operandi* in pharmaceutics, as well as in therapeutics, changed gradually and became less complex and more rational."

There was yet another discovery – one "whose consequences extend far beyond chemistry and therapeutics," namely, demonstration of the process responsible for the formation of minute organisms known as bacteria. There appeared, he said,

> in the focus of the microscope, a procession of little beings that live on the utmost boundary of the visible . . . that swarm between the animal and the vegetable kingdoms; in their insignificance a mighty power for help and for harm; in their frailty indestructible.
>
> Many phenomena, hitherto inexplicable, suddenly became explained. . . . By their faculty to adapt their vital process to circumstances – that is, to be dormant or active according to the surrounding medium – they attain a ubiquity that rivals that of atmospheric air. In fact, the absence of atmospheric air is the only eventuality that excludes them. . . . They enter our body, and are in constant warfare against our vitality. As long as the organism is strong, they are excluded after a

---

*Calif. Pharmaceutical Soc. . . ., *Proceedings* (San Francisco, 1881), pp. 35-38.

short sojourn. Wherever there exists a part of minor resistance, they multiply rapidly in their peculiar way by fissure, and inaugurate decomposition. . . .†

. . . I want to give you a few admonitions at our parting. The majority of you will enter the practical life, will study as much as is necessary to keep pace with the progress of our science, but will not contribute to science themselves. . . . But there are perhaps one or two amongst you that in future may add new facts to science, and instead of being mere receivers of knowledge, will become promoters of knowledge, investigators, discoverers. To them I want to say only two words. . . . Do not forget science knows no difference between small and great, only between false and true. So, observe and study and investigate whenever you hit on a phenomenon that with the present state of science cannot be explained. And, secondly, be not hasty in your conclusions. Investigate carefully; do not start from hypothetical premises, but be true to yourselves and you will be true to science.

His profesorship of botany did not prevent Behr from continuing to be alert to the economic side of the sciences he professed. As mentioned earlier in this paper, he was interested in silkworm culture as far back as 1855. Some fifteen years afterwards (Nov. 15, 1879), the *Pacific Rural Press* published a front-page illustrated editorial on the native moth, *Saturnia ceanothi*, in which Dr. Behr, "our foremost entomologist," was said to have expressed a desire to experiment with its silk-producing qualities; and, to further the professor's desire, the *Press's r*eaders were asked to send in any cocoons they found that resembled the object shown in the illustration. By August 12, 1882, Behr's collection had grown to such proportions that the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, in describing one of the exhibits at the Mechanics' Institute Fair of that year, said: "The display cannot be too highly praised. It comprises a collection of ten cases—or rather will when the cases have all been brought—of wild silkworm moths from India and China, as also a number of the ordinary kind. They are the property of Dr. Behr, of this city."

In the spring of 1882 occurred a momentous event, which was featured in the *Alta California* of Friday, April twenty-first, under the heading: "THE DEAD SCIENTIST." He was Charles Robert Darwin, of whom the editor said: ". . . none of us perhaps will ever exactly agree about the value of the work he did in his life; none of us will dispute the amount of indefatigable labor which probably caused his death." The editor was too near the theory of natural selection and the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life (other, "perhaps," than in the political sense) to write with serene conviction. But, from the start, the interest in the theory, as menioned above, was great—in fact, the whole edition of the *Origin of Species* . . . had been exhausted on the day of issue (Nov. 24, 1859). Behr, working among the riches of California's plant and insect life, expressed his own thoughts on the subject in the Preface to his *Synopsis of the Genera of Vascular Plants in the Vicinity of San Francisco with an Attempt to Arrange Them According to Evolutionary Principles* (San Francisco: Payot, Upham & Co., 1884). The "vicinity" included the region from Sonoma to Santa Clara and from Niles to the Pacific. The "botanical treasures of the California Academy of Sciences" had been placed at his disposal, and active assistance had been rendered him "by our veteran Californian botanist Dr. [Albert] Kellogg, Rev. E. L. Greene, Mrs. Curran, and other members of the Academy, to all of whom I hereby present my best thanks."

---

†In 1880, bacteriology was a comparatively new science, Ferdinand Julius Cohn's *Untersuchungen über Bacterien* having been published only a short while before (1872-75). In it, Cohn, who was born in 1828 and whose alma mater had been the same as Behr's, showed that bacteria are plants, the nature and properties of which he demonstrated. Early investigators, confounding bacteria with all kinds of other small organisms, had called them animaculae.

Behr wrote his *Synopsis* for two reasons, he said: "Firstly, to enable the student to identify the generic types of the flora surrounding our metropolis; secondly, to develop in his mind the idea of a classification founded on the phases of vegetable evolution. . . . There will perhaps be a time when the demonstration of evolutionary affinities will form the grammar of botany; and old Linné [Linnaeus]†† will come into service again as a lexicon is used in the study of languages." Continuing this line of thought in his Introduction, Behr said that, although our theories about "the creative power or the first impulse" may differ, all scientists, in their efforts to explain variations, have instinctively agreed on the method of deriving one form of organic life out of the other. "The philosophic plan of classification would be to begin with the ancestral types and follow them through all their ramifications to the most modern. It is a charming idea if it could only be done, but it is about as feasible as to unwind a ball of yarn from the centre." (Manufacturers since the date Behr's *Synopsis* was published have made this feat "feasible").

---

††Behr preferred Linnaeus' system to A. P. de Candolle's, which he found to be "less perspicuous," and which lacked, he said, "the stern, persistent principle which so well adapts the Linnean system for use as a key."

Two years later (1886), Behr's *Linnaean Key to the Local Flora* was published in San Francisco by George Spaulding & Co.

There were many everywhere who shared in 1882 the *Alta California* editor's reservation about Darwinism. In Germany, as recently as 1877, a friend of Dr. Behr, Rudolf Virchow, publisher of the *Archiv f. Pathologische Anatomie u. Physiologie,* who took his M. D. degree at the University of Berlin the same year that Behr received his, and who was interested with him in liberal political ideas, had written *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft in Modernen Staat* [*The Freedom of Science in the Modern State*], in which he opposed the teaching of evolution in the schools as advocated, that year, by his former pupil, Ernst Heinrich Haeckel, in *Freie Wissenschaft und Freie Lehre* [*Free Science and Free Doctrine*]. Virchow's argument was that, so far, evolution was speculative—it was still an unproved hypothesis—and, as such, not a subject to be taught in the schools. An exponent of the ideas of Darwin in the United States was the botanist, Asa Gray, author of the section on *Gamopetalae* (plants having the corolla composed of united petals) in the *Geological Survey of California* mentioned above, and to whose work Behr referred in the preface to his *Synopsis* and elsewhere.

As we have seen, Behr had profound respect for the evolutionary theory; when it is taken in connection with the conclusions of geologists regarding alteration in the position of sea-level, amusing situations arise. In one of his short papers—written for the "Jinks" of the Bohemian Club and published by some of his friends as *The Hoot of the Owl* (San Francisco, 1904) after his death—Behr says (pp. 49 and 208) the earth's grade appears to him to have been

> so continuously changed that you cannot find an alpine height without oyster shells, sardine-boxes, and other marine productions, which prove the locality to have been originally the bottom of the sea; on the other hand, what is now the bottom of the sea is covered by a post-tertiary stratum of umbrellas, peanut-shells, and broken bottles, a proof of its having been but a short time ago a popular picnic ground for Sunday excursions.... There is no mining stock that has passed through such vicissitudes of ups and downs as the hills and plains of California.

In 1888, a *Flora of the Vicinity of San Francisco* by H. H. Behr, M. D., made its appearance in the city. The area covered was the same as in his *Synopsis.* Again he paid tribute in his prefatory statement to Asa Gray's work on the botany of California and also to that of Sereno Watson. As to the broad characteristics of the local flora, he says:

> Many of our California species split into numerous variations, which mingle

> frequently with variations of related, equally variable species. Some of these variations owe their existence to hybridization; and this circumstance is probably the reason why several species described and characterized by different authors have not been found again. In annuals such spurious species will only reappear occasionally.

There was at that time (1888) no botanical garden or experimental grounds in California where such questions could be definitely settled, but they could at least be raised in the minds of his students at the California College of Pharmacy, where his works were listed among "Text and Reference books." Some sixty years before Behr's series of local floras began to appear, William Jackson Hooker had called attention to the importance of such volumes in the Preface to his *Flora Scotia* (1821), cited above, saying that they "supply the natives of peculiar districts with the means of examining and ascertaining the plants of their vicinity at a comparatively small expense"; he said also that they furnished "an important contribution to vegetable geography...." What makes Behr's *Flora of the Vicinity of San Francisco* particularly helpful to the student is the extensive index, pp. 337-64, and an appendix of some fourteen pages of definitions.

In the late spring of the year Behr's book was published, Alfred Russel Wallace, British zoologist and botanist, came to California. He had been associated with Darwin in advancing principles to account for the rise of new species and had spent the years 1854-62 collecting specimens in the East Indies, where Behr was said to have been similarly occupied earlier. Evidently Behr was out of San Francisco at the time of Wallace's visit, as no mention has been found of their having met. Miss Alice Eastwood had not yet reached California, but she botanized with Wallace in Colorado in 1888, as he relates in *My Life* (London, 1905), II, pp. 155-56, and 798. Pages 158-75 in the same volume he devotes to his stay in California, commenting especially (p. 160) on his morning in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. Here he saw "some eucalyptus trees over sixty feet high with numerous acacias and other greenhouse plants growing out-of-doors." He also speaks of having had "a fine view of the ... sandhills, covered with huge clumps of blue and yellow tree-lupines...." Behr analyzes the arrangement of these sand formations in his "Botanical Reminiscences of San Francisco," reviewed in detail below.

In the meantime, he was busy with his zoological work. In Volume XXIV (1890), pp. 685-86, the *American Naturalist* gives prominence to Behr's findings on *Phryganidia* [*Phryganea*] *californica,* which lives mainly on live oaks. There had been in the region enough insect-feeding birds to kill these pests, especially efficient being the titmouse, which ate both the eggs and the adult caterpillars and managed, at the same time, to escape shotguns in the hands of small boys. Then "some well-meaning but imperfectly instructed people," as Behr calls them, introduced the English sparrow. The latter drove away the titmouse. It could no longer feed on (and thereby decimate) the eggs and larvae of the *Phryganidia*, "at both of which the sparrow looked with a contemptuous smile." The pests multiplied; the leaves of the live oaks disappeared. Nevertheless, some of the infested trees did manage to survive.

About 1893, Dr. Behr gave up his office at 509 Kearny Street, his name being listed in San Francisco directories of 1893, 1894 as "with California Academy of Sciences, 819 Market Street." At that time, Harvey W. Harkness, M. D., was the academy's president. Shortly afterwards, Behr became a vice-president (1895); by 1898, he was made curator of entomology in addition to his duties as vice-president. The same year, on his eightieth birthday, his medical degree was renewed by the University of Berlin, upon recommendation of his classmate, Rudolf Virchow, who was mentioned above in connection with the question of teaching evolution in the schools.

As to Behr's work at the California College of Pharmacy—according to the *Prospectus* for 1893, his teaching schedule that year called for what was designated as "twenty-five Junior lectures," on topics such as the following, to cite only a few: discussion, explanation, and demonstration of floral parts; subdivisions of the Linnaean system; structure of stamens and their combinations; development of ovary into the different forms of fruit; dehiscent varieties of fruit [those whose seed pods open along a definite line of attachment]; practical exercises in regard to autumnal forms of fruit.

Faculty members had received no compensation in the early years of the California College of Pharmacy, but, in 1879, they began to receive what William Carey Jones *(Illustrated History of the University of California*, San Francisco, 1895, p. 279) calls "a small stipend." Behr resigned in 1894, and was made emeritus professor of botany. Thus he had uninterrupted time for his work at the California Academy of Sciences.

The subject of his compensation at the California Academy of Sciences is referred to on page 7 of the academy's report, cited earlier, on Dr. Behr's life and services: "It is one of the most gratifying returns from James Lick's bounty [his endowment of the academy in 1876] that we have thus been enabled to grant to this worthy man and eminent scientist an ideal old age—an old age free from pecuniary care. . . ."

In the preceding portion of the present article, references to Behr's writings have necessarily been limited to the space available; but the reader will find a representative list in successive volumes of the *Catalogue of Scientific Papers, Compiled and Published by the Royal Society* (London, 1867—). It will be discovered how many of them made their appearance in the *Proceedings* and/or *Bulletins* of the California Academy of Sciences. For instance, in 1884 Behr and Albert Kellogg collaborated in writing a paper on *Anemone Grayi*, n. sp.; the next year came Behr's "New Lepidoptera," and also his "Biological Synopsis of California Lepidoptera"; his paper, "Changes in the Fauna and Flora of California—on the Power of Adaptation in Insects," compiled between 1888 and 1895, was published in the academy's *Proceedings* in two parts, one in 1889 and another in 1896. The above titles are only a few examples of his continuous scientific output.

Behr's strictures, quoted above, against the English sparrow, come in for further elaboration in his "Changes in the Fauna . . ." *(Proc.*, 2d ser., V, 1896), where, on page 376, the bird is called

> a very poor insect-feeder, but, by pugnaciousness and a certain social organization of his own, he manages to drive away the real insect-feeders, warblers, titmice and swallows, and in this way has become the protector of several of our insect pests. He is a bird of great power of adaptation, but of no utility whatever, and in very short time will serve as another living proof how easy it is to disturb the natural relation of things and how difficult to restore it.

Also appearing that year was a paper he called "Botanical Reminiscences of San Francisco," published in *Erythea, a Journal of Botany, West American and General*, IV (Berkeley, 1896), pages 168-73. *Erythea* was edited by W. L. Jepson, assisted by Alice Eastwood and J. Burtt Davy. Though we know, in general, says Behr, the secular changes in the flora of some countries, we cannot "distinguish between the mild work of nature producing gradual changes and the violent impetuous work of man subjecting nature to serve his purposes. . . ." In former times, and even now in barbarous countries, he continues, destructive warfare preceded most of the changes in vegetation; but in our era, "it is the building up that produces these changes, which occasionally are so sudden that a sufficient number of our own species live long enough to recollect, and eventually note down, what has become extinct and what has been added to the Flora of a region." It was high time, here in San Francisco, he thought, "to fix these observations in print, because the generation which has witnessed them is fast disappearing." He then re-created for the reader the natural landscape of 1850-1860 – "before the 'Second Street cut' " – when the area was "swamp and bog and salicornia flat." As to the sand downs [*sic*], they were arranged mainly "in parallel ridges, the ridges being most numerous and frequently confluent towards the mouth of Mission Creek. There were no sand downs on the other side, and its vegetation exhibited an entirely different character [that is, one not objecting to magnesium silicate in its diet], depending on hills of serpentine rock and its debris."

His "Botanical Reminiscences" also covers the places where certain species, viz., *Botrychium ternatum*, Swartz, a plant of the Sierra, grew – and is "now entirely extinct in our vicinity." Behr remembered, too, where could be found the different species of *Erythraea* (e.g., *Erythraea centaurium*, or bitter centaury), "frequently collected and much thought of by the old inhabitants, who used all the species, under the name *Canchalagua*, against the intermittent fevers, dyspepsia, etc." Of a bog at the foot of the hills toward the south, he says that the vegetation was "exceedingly characteristic. It was a kind of arctic oasis amidst a vegetation of California type." Then follow the names of "species entirely extinct in this region and not found elsewhere": one, *Arenaria palustris*, Watson, may, he says, "be rediscovered some day in Alaska." Next he gives the names of "species extinct in this region but found in other parts of California"; also, "species that have disappeared only from the immediate neighborhood, but still found within the country."

Some fifty years before, Behr's "Ueber die Verhältnisse der Südaustralische Flor im Allgemeinen" had appeared in *Linnaea*, as described earlier in the present paper. There he speaks *(see* Richard Kippist's transl. in Hooker's *Journal of Botany and Kew Garden Miscellany*, London, 1851, p. 133) of the influence "exercised by the neighborhood of man, especially that of a cattle-dealing population," in South Australia. Among the first to yield in such cases seemed to have been annual plants. A pasture-forming species *("Anthistiria")* in the hilly lands was supplanted in many places by new grasses; as to the original vegetation of the more cultivable scrub-districts, it "lurks timidly and secretly about the hedges which separate it from the reclaimed districts, and views with terror the destructive progress of the merciless intruders."

California, in the vicinity of San Francisco, had given Behr a similar experience in the field of historical botany, half a century later.

But life to Dr. Behr was not made up exclusively of "cattle-dealing" ranchers, or of engineers bent on making road-cuts, or even of English sparrows "contemptuous" of their pest-reduction duties. The doctor knew how to invoke the lighter side of faunal existences and bring them into analogy with the human. For example, David Starr Jordan (b. Gainesville, N. Y., 1851), who had been president of Stanford University since 1891, was president of the California Academy of Sciences 1896-98, 1901-03, and 1908-11. For half a dozen years (1885-91) before coming to Stanford, Jordan had taught zoology at the University of Indiana and had, at the same time, served as the institution's president. Earlier still in his career, he had taught botany at Cornell. Consequently, though Jordan was some thirty-three years younger than Behr, there was a meeting-ground of overlapping interests between the two, Jordan specializing on fishes, Behr on butterflies. Some of the essays in the latter's *Hoot of the Owl* poke fun at their respective predilections. In a sketch called "On Fishes" (*ibid.*, p. 222), Behr mentions the fact that a fish doesn't have feet, "which circumstance saves him a world of trouble; having no feet, he has no big toe; having no big toe, he has no gout; having no gout, he is not suffering from the pavements of this good city." These deductions were the result of concern for acquaintances afflicted by the above malady: "It always touches my heart to see a friend, when crossing the street, how carefully he treats the cobblestones of our pavements. Public property must be treated with consideration." In another essay, "On Butterflies," Behr speaks of their leading an aerial life, while "the oyster lives on the bosom of the ocean, in localities inaccessible to his creditors." The butterfly will not work, "if he can help it. In this latter peculiarity the butterfly resembles the oyster, from which, in other respects, it is not difficult to distinguish him." In the Bohemian Club's *Annual Report, 1903-1904*, is an item about the publication of Behr's Jinks papers to the effect that "325 volumes were subscribed for by Club members."

Under the heading "Died," San Francisco *Examiner*, March 8, 1904, was the following notice:

> Behr.—In this city, March 6, Dr. Hans Herman Behr, a native of Koethen, Germany, aged 85 years 6 months and 18 days.
>
> Friends and acquaintances are respectfully invited to attend the funeral today (Tuesday), at 9 o'clock a. m., from the parlors of Gantner Bros., 1209 Mission

Street, between Eighth and Ninth; thence to St. Boniface's Church, Golden Gate Avenue, between Jones and Leavenworth Streets, where a solemn requiem high mass will be celebrated for the repose of his soul, commencing at 9:30 a. m. Interment, Holy Cross Cemetery, by 11:30 a. m. train from Third and Townsend Streets.

As one of his students in botany at the College of Pharmacy in 1890 and 1891, it has been my desire for a long time to bring into the scope of one paper all the information available on the life and work of Dr. Behr. He was, however, a man of such varied and unusual talents that a single article can hardly do him justice. One form of memorial to his genius is made up of the individual items included in the total of his scientific contributions. Another was his collection of LEPIDOPTERA, which he presented to the California Academy of Sciences during his lifetime and which was as famous among specialists as among the throngs that came to the academy chiefly to view it. But on a spring morning, two years after his death, a black pall of smoke began to take shape over San Francisco. It grew heavier and blacker with the products of combustion, and, lost forever within its depths, were Dr. Behr's once-sprightly butterflies, their labels and mountings. Nevertheless, there is in existence another, a very intimate, memorial, namely, a portrait of Dr. Behr by the San Francisco artist, Fred Yates, which shows him with his long hair, heavy spectacles, and scholarly mien. It now hangs on one of the walls of the Bohemian Club, where he had found warm, stimulating friends. A reproduction of the painting accompanies this article.

ADDENDUM

Mrs. E. J. Etienne, granddaughter of Mrs. Carl (Ida) Precht, has kindly supplied us with the following account of her acquaintance with Dr. Behr:

To accommodate Dr. Behr when he came to live with her grandmother's family, Mrs. Etienne, then little Ida Precht, shared her grandmother's bedroom. The Prechts employed Germans as houseboys. Mrs. Etienne remembers that one day, after Dr. Behr's room had been cleaned, she wandered in and saw that his boxes of caterpillars had not been made neat, along with the rest of the room, so she cleaned them. The doctor's, "Where are my caterpillars!" she can still hear. Dr. Behr wore handmade shoes and carried a cane; he also wore a coat with a cape. Even so, he suffered with neuralgia in the region of the hip. He would then inform his physician that his "left hind-leg" was bothering him. He accepted the medicine that the physician prescribed, but he didn't take it—he just looked at it. He used candles in his room—never gas, and always read by candle light. He had an owl as a pet. The bird was greatly interested when a game of solitaire was going on in Dr. Behr's room. Mrs. Etienne remembers the botanic excursions the doctor sometimes let her make with his students. There were times when she got tired, and he would carry her. If they happened to be botanizing near the Italian vegetable gardens in the vicinity of San Francisco, the students would pick a cabbage, slice it, and make up a dish of cole slaw. The household at the Prechts' had many characteristics of a German home—copper cooking utensils; houseboys who had been sailors on German ships touching at San Francisco and a family vegetable garden, in which Dr. Behr had his own plot of herbs. Dr. Behr's son sent him some seeds of a South African variety of gooseberry; he also had a bug in his collection that liked stinging nettles, so he grew them, too. Once, Mrs. Etienne caught a butterfly. When she showed it to Dr. Behr, he made much of it and said it was rare. One night each month, Adolph Sutro invited Dr. Behr and the Prechts to dinner—elaborate and delicious. [See A. R. Wallace, as cited above, II, p. 158, for a breakfast party at the Sutros'.] Mrs. Etienne, as a young girl, wanted to be a botanist. She studied sea moss, which has a way of smelling badly as it drys. There was talk of her becoming Miss Eastwood's assistant, but she married, instead. Dr. Behr, Mrs. Etienne remembers, had said, when in his 80's, that he had had a lot of fun in life, "and I'm going to have more." In his will, he left her $300. She was engaged at the time, and the money was to help with her trousseau.

Note on George Nidever

A "Clean-Living and Upright" Trapper

By Virginia Thomson

In his "Answer to One Reader's Complaint about *The Big Sky*," William Sloane, the book's original publisher, made the following statement from New York City in 1947, with regard to Alfred B. Guthrie:

> The purpose of the author has been to show that in living and acting as they did (hunters and trappers), they destroyed the wilderness, which was the only thing they really loved. I don't see how the author could have written the story—and it is a very moral story—that he wanted to tell if his hero had been a clean-living, upright man. There weren't any clean-living, upright men engaged in despoiling the American wilderness at that time.

The purpose of the present article is to point out that there was at least one "clean-living, upright man" engaged in trapping at that time, namely, George Nidever, a native of Tennessee, whose experiences in "despoiling [?] the American wilderness" did not interfere with his becoming, and remaining, a respected citizen of Santa Barbara for half a century.

As a young man, not wishing to pursue the comparatively static life of a farmer like his father, George Nidever had chosen the opposite one of hunting and trapping. While out after beaver with a party under Col. Robert Bean in 1830-33, he explored areas that are now parts of New Mexico, Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho.

Nidever was no common trapper. He was a marksman of such great ability that companies of trappers were said to have bet as high as $5,000 that Nidever could kill more buffalo than any other man in the Rocky Mountains. While he was living in California, he became renowned as a grizzly bear hunter; according to reports, he killed more than 200. Sea otters on the coast of California succumbed to his marksmanship to the recorded number of 1091, between the years 1835 and 1848.[1] Even when he was in his seventies, his skill did not desert him. On September 1, 1878, E. F. Murray, an assistant of Hubert Howe Bancroft, visited

Nidever in the vicinity of Santa Barbara and took down his autobiography; he also wrote a description of him at 75 years of age:

> The subject of this sketch. . . . is still strong and active. He is about the medium height and inclined to be stout. He stoops the least bit but it may be from habit rather than old age. His sight and hearing are still keen and his nerves remarkably steady for one so old. He lives with his youngest daughter and his wife, about a mile from town, on a piece of land containing several acres. It is under cultivation and he keeps it free from squirrels by shooting them with a Colt's revolver. If a chicken is wanted for dinner he prefers shooting its head off with his rifle to using a shot gun, which he has frequently to use, however, owing to the danger of using his rifle when there are so many and near neighbors.[2]

Murray induced Nidever to shoot three shots at a paper target, three inches square, hanging on a nail some sixty yards away. All three shots landed on the paper, the second shot hitting the nail. Nidever used a muzzle-loader in a resting position.

William Henry Ellison speaks of another merit that Nidever had as a trapper; this was a "remarkable ability to recognize different Indian tribes and to remember their location."[3] As will be seen later, his shrewdness on one occasion saved his own and others' lives.

Physical difficulties never seemed to bother Nidever. While he was with Colonel Bean's party, dense timberlands were encountered and 12 to 16 inches of snow in the mountain gorges of Wyoming. After six days without food, Nidever shot and killed two buffalo bulls. The men were so hungry that they continued to eat the flesh of one bull all night, until six o'clock the next morning. According to Job Dye, a member of the party, ". . . they would skin a small piece and cut off a chunk of meat and throw it into the fire, and there let it remain until it became black and charred, when it was taken from the smoking blaze and eaten, almost as raw as when it was alive in the buffalo hide."[4]

In his own account and in the accounts of others who knew him, I have been unable to find that George Nidever used any obscene language or profanity, or that he was disrespectful toward God and man. He killed Indians only in self-defense, and not for scalps. Nor did he steal horses and boats.

He lived among the toughest of men, but he was not like them in his morals. An example of one of these "toughest of men" was Isaac Graham, whom Theodore H. Hittell describes as "a man entirely without education," but possessed of "enterprise and intelligence" and "a considerable amount of personal magnetism."[5] He was a close companion of Nidever at first. But their friendship ceased when Graham became leader of a motley crew, who helped put Alvarado in office and then sought to take abusive advantage of the governor.

In 1844-1845, when José Castro joined in a revolt to drive Gov. Manuel Micheltorena out of California, Nidever refused to join the latter's foreign company. Even though he favored Micheltorena, Nidever had his scruples: many of the soldiers were freed convicts, and the characters of officers and regulars questionable.

There was one incident in Nidever's life, of which he repented later. While with Colonel Bean's company in 1830, "below the mouth of the Cimmeron,"[6] Nidever started out with Isaac Graham to get buffalo. They walked a full four miles from camp before they came upon any, and, when they did, the two men, being on foot, had no trouble in approaching unnoticed. But they realized that they had walked into a trap when 80 armed Arapaho Indians appeared from nowhere and began chasing them. The nearest timber was fully a mile and a half away, over by the river. They started running for their lives. Graham, the better athlete, could have left Nidever in the rear, but "it was not his character to desert a comrade in danger."[7] Not until nearly a mile of ground had been covered did their pursuers catch up with the white men; then, to their surprise, the Indians threw down their own guns and proceeded to give the two men a rough shaking. By signs, Nidever and Graham made them understand that there were 80 men in the camp of the white men – a slight exaggeration.[8] This scheme had its desired effect, for the Indians spared the white men's lives and even accompanied them back to their camp. As will be seen, it didn't take long for the Arapahoes to realize that they had been tricked.

Colonel Bean decided to send out six men to look for winter quarters and game, and, when volunteers were asked for, Isaac Graham, George Nidever, James Basey, Mark Nidever (George's younger brother), Job Dye, and Frederick Christ were selected.[9] The six traveled about 60 miles before they found a beautiful valley, apparently made-to-order for a winter camp, in the vicinity of the Arkansas River. Mark Nidever and Frederick Christ were sent back to inform the main company and guide them to the location. Meanwhile the other four set to work killing buffalo and curing the meat for the winter. According to Dye, "In four days time we had killed and hung up seventeen buffalo and covered them with hides; also a large grizzly bear."[10] The meat was suspended beyond reach of wild animals, and the men then moved their camp to a place on the side of the mountain, whence they could watch the meat and the valley below without being seen themselves.

On the fifth day, late in the evening, George Nidever felt uneasy about the meat and decided to take a stroll outside camp. Carrying his rifle with him, he walked about 400 yards before he saw that a war party of about 80 Arapahoes[11] were stealing the buffalo and bear meat. He reported his findings to his companions, and all agreed to abandon camp and look for Colonel Bean's main company. When they reached it, the first thing that greeted Nidever was the news that the two men sent back – his brother Mark, and Frederick Christ – had been killed by the Indians. They had reached camp in safety and were acting the part of guides for the return journey, when they met the 75 to 80 Arapahoes who had been stealing the buffalo meat. The main company knew that the two men had reached the place selected for winter-quarters, because they found their names cut in the bark of a log on which they had sat before being taken captive.[12] Their captors were the same Arapahoes who had chased George Nidever and Isaac Graham; realizing that they had been tricked, the Indians had taken revenge on two men not at all connected with the original deception. Later on, George met some Mexicans. He recognized that one of them had his brother's gun. When questioned, the man revealed that the Indians had sold Mark's gun to him, and Christ's to another member of the Mexican party. Also gleaned was the fact that Mark had killed three of the Indians before they killed him.

Nidever said of his brother that he ". . . was one of the best men we had in our company – active, strong, hardy, brave, and a good shot. He was missed and mourned by all."[13]

Nidever could not shake the picture of his brother's death from his mind. Three years afterward, he was a member of Capt. Joseph Reddeford Walker's party – the first party known to have crossed the Sierra Nevada going west into California. Just after entering the mountains, Captain Walker chose George Nidever and Zenas Leonard to help him select a camping-place. They decided to take different routes. It was not long before Nidever discovered fresh signs of Indians. Alarmed not only for his own safety, but also for the safety of Walker and Leonard, he was looking around for more signs, when he happened to turn in the direction from which he had come and saw two Indians trotting along the trail, with their heads down. It was evident that they had seen Leonard and Walker and had fled from the scene, for every few yards they would stop, look back, and listen as if pursued.

At first Nidever thought that they were following his own tracks, and, going behind a tree, he prepared to meet them. But the Indians were not even aware that he existed, for they passed in single file a few feet from him, conversing as they went. He decided to let them go; then the brutal mangling of his brother came to his mind: ". . . watching my chance, just before they would have to turn around a small point of rocks, I fired, shooting both of them dead at the first shot." Zenas Leonard says that Nidever killed the Indians because he thought that they had already attacked Walker and him; that Nidever was sorry when he found out his mistake.

In describing Nidever's character, E. F. Murray, Bancroft's assistant, wrote: "He is quite unassuming and never brags of his feats of skill, and almost everything of this nature relating to him I first learned from others, obtaining a recital of them from him only by dint of questioning. His truthfulness and integrity are beyond question, so that great weight should be given to all he says."[16]

Other trappers' lives could be cited, which would go far in refuting the charges Publisher Sloane made in his "Answer . . .," as quoted in the opening paragraph of this paper. Three such individuals were Job Francis Dye, Zenas Leonard, and Allen Light (otherwise known as Black Steward – the man appointed by Governor Alvarado in 1839, to prevent illegal otter hunting in California).[17]

NOTES

1. These figures are based on references found in Nidever's autobiography, "Life and Adventures of George Nidever, a Pioneer of California since 1834," hereafter cited as Nidever's Narrative (manuscript, Bancroft Library), pp. 5-6. *See also* H. H. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 42; and his *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), IV, 753.

2. Nidever's Narrative, p. 3.

3. William Henry Ellison, *The Life and Adventures of George Nidever* (Berkeley, 1937), 93, note 15.

4. Job Francis Dye, "Recollections of California," hereafter cited as Dye's Recollections (manuscript, Bancroft Library), p. 10. This manuscript was dictated to Thomas Savage by Dye in 1877.

5. Theodore Henry Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1885-1897), II, 266.

6. Dye's Recollections, p. 4.

7. Nidever's Narrative, p. 22.

8. There were 43 men in the trapping party.

9. Nidever's Narrative, p. 28; Dye's Recollections, p. 5.

10. Dye's Recollections, p. 6.

11. *Ibid;* Nidever's Narrative, p. 30. Dye says "about 75 Snake Indians"—they were more likely Arapaho, as may be seen from the account which follows.

12. Nidever's Narrative, pp. 30-32; Dye's Recollections, pp. 6-9.

13. Nidever's Narrative, p. 32.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

15. W. F. Wagner, ed., *Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard* (Cleveland, 1904), pp. 168-69.

16. Nidever's Narrative, p. 4.

17. H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1884), II, 604-607. *See also* Alvarado to Light, Santa Barbara, Jan. 27, 1839 (San Diego Archives, in Bancroft Library, p. 218).

British Comment – As of 1849-1852

By S. Laird Swagert

(Continued)

The schooner, *Dolphus,* property of a Charles Perkins, was one of the vessels chartered for trading in February 1849.[18] About this time a special article, "Houses for California," which described a stepped-up branch of Belgian industry, appeared in the *Illustrated London News:*

> The construction of iron houses, intended for California, is being actively carried on at Couillet [Belgium]. Four have already been forwarded to their destination, ten others must be at Antwerp prior to the 15th instant. They resemble cottages. They are arranged for two-three families with two rooms for each. All different parts are numbered and are put together by means of a nut and pin. The roofing is composed of zinc tiles. We have no doubt that this article of exportation will furnish another branch of the metallurgical trade, and a further means of employment, but it may nevertheless require to be turned to account by the assistance of the government. For instance, we can see no reason, to commence with, why the Government should not cause all small cottages for the accommodation of the police, which line the railways, to be built of iron. Besides the merit of being in perfect harmony with the railway, the adoption of this mode of construction would have that of greater economy. Nothing would be more simple than to vary the style of these little houses, so that they would present a permanent exhibition of models of iron architecture. – *Journal de Charleroi* [Belgium].[19]

But these iron houses, when put up in San Francisco, had, it seems, several unsatisfactory points, which were enumerated in an account, "Tinder from a California Fire," published in *Household Words* a few years later:

> Under the sunshine they are too hot: as night advances, they cool too rapidly, and towards dawn they are ice houses. When warm the anti-corrosive paint on them emits a sickly smell, the rain falls on the roof noisily like small shot, and, if such houses become implicated in a fire, they first expand, then collapse, and tumble down with astonishing rapidity. In one of the San Francisco fires . . . the American iron houses, of which the plates were nearly an inch thick, and castings

of apparently unnecessary weight, collapsed like a preserved meat tin and destroyed six persons, who believing it to be fireproof, remained inside.[20]

It was not clear whether this was pro-Belgian (and, conversely, anti-American) propaganda, or just Dickensian fiction.

Eighteen forty-nine also witnessed the giving of serio-comic advice of a more personal kind than that relating to housing:

. . .

If you to Californy go// You'll want // A Rifle// just to keep// Your diggings thar; we'll sell 'em cheap.// At good five hundred yards they kill,// In hands as draws the bead with skill.[21]

Punch then proceeded to list other defensive weapons, necessary in an "Outfit for the Diggins" and all of them procurable at Hezekiah Higgins; viz., revolvers, Bowie knives, dirks, swords. But, in case of danger from the western placers as such, were there, the modern reader is tempted to inquire, "hands as draws the bead with skill" among British economists of that time?

According to the *Illustrated London News* of January 6, 1849 (p. 1), the British expected the California gold discoveries to precipitate reactions in the financial world, far more reaching than all the political revolutions of 1848. They expected that this "golden revolution" would "alter the measure of value throughout the civilized world—make the poor rich, and the rich poor—pay off the debts of nations, and start the world afresh on a new career of civilization." A reservation to this cheerful expectation was pointed out in the same journal a week later (Jan. 13, 1849, p. 22): "Though a land of gold be good, a land of food, clothing, shelter and security is good also; and California may be the one, without being the other."

In response to letters from its readers, the editor stated that a great addition to the world's stock of gold would result in devaluation of this metal; that an increase in the prices of all commodities would follow. Hardship would thus be inflicted upon persons living on annuities or fixed incomes. As to the worker, the mere doubling of prices and wages would be of no advantage to him; but, if the trade and manufacturing interests of the country should receive a great impetus, "all who depend for their subsistence upon their skill, talent, and industry will be enabled to improve their condition."[22]

Scholars also gave attention to the anticipated financial crisis. At the nineteenth meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of

Science, Prof. W. N. Hancock, LL.D., M.R.C.A., was reported in the *Athenaeum* as having maintained that the gold and silver discoveries of the 16th and 17th centuries had quadrupled the prices of all commodities in a space of seventy years, but twenty years passed before the change began to be felt. Reaction from the California discoveries he expected would be different, because "the facility of transit and the promptness with which labour and capital were applied to industrial undertakings would bring the produce of the American mines into the European market with much greater rapidity than in past centuries."[23]

Hancock said, further, that the government had made no regulations regarding the British currency to prevent the Californian gold mines from producing marked changes in prices, "if their fertility were sufficient to effect such changes." He explained that, since England was a gold-standard country, "whatever cause affected the value of gold as a commodity would affect prices in Great Britain.... The extent to which British prices could be affected by the discovery of gold in California depended on the difference between the cost of obtaining gold there and the cost at the least fertile mine now worked or which continued to be worked after the discovery." Gold had been maintained as the standard of value in Great Britain,

> because for two centuries it had been of all commodities the least variable in value, therefore the best fitted to serve as the measure of the value of other commodities. Should it now from any cause become variable in value, the same reason that has impelled us hitherto to select it would lead us to take in its place as a standard the commodity which would then become least variable in value. This commodity would, be believed, be found to be silver.

After presentation of Hancock's paper, there was a discussion by members of the association; for example, W. H. Sykes believed that it was useless to talk about a standard of value, "as everything was regulated by supply and demand."

Ten months later, a writer in the *British Quarterly Review* of August 1850 (pp. 57-58) assured his readers that his countrymen had no feeling of envy when they read of the Americans'

> ... glowing anticipations of the wealth that is to accrue to them from the development of its [the gold region's] capabilities ... its widely-spread commerce ... its beeves innumerable, that are to be fed to fatness on its fertile plains, which grow grass and oats for nothing. For, as it is discreetly remarked in an official report upon the subject, cattle that have walked into California from the Western States, will *not* be fit for eating immediately upon their arrival thither. Of all this

> we read unmoved, save to wish... that our cousins in the States may be "the better" for their new acquisition... when the excessive speculation to which it has given rise... shall have passed away, leaving the country to a legitimate development of its natural resources.

The writer of the article wanted to make it clear that the British were not calling California a bubble. "We do say that there has been bubble-blowing in connection with it; and this, in its results, is as injurious to the morals of a community as it possibly can be to its pecuniary interests. It is a thing not to be tolerated...."

A month later, another writer entreated farmers not to be "cajoled by the golden visions of enthusiasts"; nor should annuitants expect their purchasing power to be reduced permanently.[24] So confident was one British writer that the gold productiveness of the region would not last "*for centuries*," that he attempted to chart the course of the decline in advance, his authority being "a letter from an experienced miner resident at the diggings" to a resident of England.[25] Three elements were considered; viz., population, average earnings per day per person, and total output on a dollar basis. The correspondent thought that, in contrast to the five preceding years, by 1853 there would "probably be straggling parties working at the mines already worked before"; the earnings per person would not be more than two dollars per day, whereas, in 1848, the average profits were about $10. "Lastly," wrote the said experienced miner, "the diggings will be exhausted by degrees, and fall into the same condition as the South American (gold) mines; although for eight years longer at least they will yield annually about six millions of dollars."

The English were curious as to how it happened that early botanists, for example "Robert [David] Douglas," sent from London to explore the American west coast, had been blind to the possibility of finding gold. "... although these scientific envoys brought or sent back specimens which much enriched our flora and fauna, they had not an eye to the main chance, and saw no gold. They were blamed for this. It was even reported, after the first announcement of the California wealth, that the roots of some of the pines sent home to England were found to have small flakes of gold held together in the clotted earth still attached to them!"[26]

Punch—also called the London *Charivari*—made sport of the matter:

> There is so much precious ore being brought from California, that people are beginning to fear gold may become a drug as well as a metal. Already gold fish

> are quoted at Hungerford Market lower than silver, the recent importations having acted even upon the finny tribe, and those with silver scales have had the balance turned in their favor. In Europe, we go to great expense in watering the road to lay the dust; but the gold dust of California is so valuable, that no watering carts are employed, and when a man comes home from a dusty walk he has only to shake his coat, to shake a good round sum into his pocket. In California the housemaids stipulate for the dust as a perquisite, and the "regular dustman" of the place pays an enormous sum for the privilege of acting as "dust contractor to the district."[27]

In February 1851, gold was discovered north of Bathurst in New South Wales by E. H. Hargraves, who had mined in California; by April and May the news had spread, and was added to in August and September of the same year by discoveries in Victoria, west and north of Melbourne.

Under the title, "Gold and Emigration," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* of August 1852 (pp. 126 ff) remarks:

> The pelting of the golden shower continues with unabated violence. Today the storm comes from the west—tomorrow from the east. The fear lest we should have too much of a good thing, expressed by Sir Robert Peel, when a geologist predicted the Australian discoveries, is participated in by many. The vaults of the Bank of England are gorged with bullion, and shouts of triumph are raised over the geologists because they asserted that there is a Gold Restriction Act in nature [that the supply of gold from the alluvial washings will soon be exhausted]. Their theories, it is said, have been quite overthrown, for gold has been found in rocks in which it was never found before. . . .
>
> The most interesting point of view from which the modern gold fields can be contemplated, is their influence in stimulating emigration; in improving thereby the condition of the labouring classes, both of those who emigrate and those who remain; in bringing some of the finest regions of the earth under Anglo-Saxon dominion; in spreading civilization and freedom and Christianity along the shores and isles of the Pacific.

But the writer of the article got down to cases when he took up the subject of the returns to be expected from the superficial, in contrast to the underground, deposits in California *(ibid.*, p. 129): "During 1851, we heard much respecting the wonders of its quartz mines; we saw a magnificent specimen from Mariposa, in the Great Exhibition [the First International Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, London] . . . gold companies sprang up in London like a crop of mushrooms. In 1852 the truth is beginning to dawn upon us. The greater portion of the gold comes, we are told, from the diggings. The quartz veins yield very little.

. . . The average value of the veinstones does not exceed 12 £. per ton, and all California had been picked for the specimens which excited such wonder."

As to the first-sight supposition that a doubling of the metallic circulation of the world would bring about a depreciation in its value and cause a corresponding doubling of the prices of commodities—unless, of course, the quantity of gold in the medium of exchange were doubled—the writer of the *Fraser's Magazine* article (pp. 131-33) placed before his readers some opposing considerations, based on figures for the relative amounts of gold used in England in the arts (six millions sterling) and for purposes of coinage (five millions), at the time the Spanish-American mines were at the height of their prosperity. During the period when these mines were decreasing, the consumption of gold in the arts exceeded the total supply. Also to be considered was the "waste going on by abrasion, shipwrecks, etc.," as estimated by the economist, John Ramsay McCulloch. Still another—and a weighty—consideration was "the rate of increase in the production of the commodities which are exchanged for the precious metals, compared with the increase of the metals themselves. . . . Should the production of gold and silver proceed more rapidly than that of other commodities, prices would rise." The writer of the article now strikes a note familiar to present-day readers:

> Does any one doubt that if there were a prospect of even a slight advance in the price of any of our great staples, our existing mills and forges would immediately increase their produce, and that others would speedily be called into existence, which would pour forth their calico, their broadcloth, and their iron at a far more rapid rate than even California and Australia pour forth their gold? Can we doubt that they would speedily glut the market to such an extent as to reduce the price below its former level, and to render it necessary to blow out half the forges, and to put the mills upon half-time?

Still another factor, greatly affecting prices, was the extension of credit, and "the representatives of coin which it creates, in the form of accounts current, bills of exchange. . . ." It was the writer's opinion that "the invention of the London Clearing-house . . . was equivalent to the opening of gold mines far richer than those of California and Australia."

(To be continued)

NOTES

18. *Illus. London News,* Feb. 17, 1849, p. 107.
19. *Ibid.,* Sept. 15, 1849, p. 178.
20. *Household Words* [weekly; conducted by Charles Dickens], Feb. 24, 1855, p. 90.
21. *Punch,* Jan. to June 1849, p. 137.
22. *Illus. London News,* Jan. 6, 1849, p. 2.
23. *Athenaeum,* Oct. 6, 1849, pp. 1019-20.
24. *Quarterly Review,* Sept. 1850, p. 397.
25. *Ibid.,* pp. 422-23.
26. *Ibid.,* p. 416.
27. *Punch,* Jan. to June 1851, p. 7.

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

Active

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
E. B. Corbet	Palo Alto	Miss Edith Slack
Frank Stephen Dolly, M.D.	Los Angeles	P. W. Galleher
Fred R. Heryer	Carmel	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. Minnie B. Jenkins	Live Oak	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Harvey S. Johnson, M.D.	Los Angeles	Harvey Starr, M.D.
Robert Lloyd Kelley	Santa Barbara	Honor Award—Stanford University
Mrs. Octavia Sellman Lyon	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Miss Geraldine C. Morris	Oakland	R. H. Cross
Mrs. Lillian A. Murphy	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Robert G. Nadey	Sacramento	J. N. Bowman
Gerald Nash	Berkeley	Honor Award—University of California
P. H. Peabody	San Jose	Warren R. Howell
William P. Scott, Jr.	San Francisco	Arthur M. Colomb
Mrs. Budd J. Smith	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Harold F. Taggart	San Mateo	Resuming membership
Miss Mary Alice Turner	Mills College	Honor Award—Mills College
University of Kentucky Libraries	Lexington, Ky.	Membership Committee
Mrs. Stafford L. Warren	Los Angeles	Mrs. Oscar Lawler

GIFTS OF RECOGNITION

To honor the following living persons, friends of the Society have made substantial monetary or other gifts:

Tamara Brown
Kenneth Michael Mackenzie
Lewis Madison Terman
Otis Buckminster Wight, M.D.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial, arranged by year of gift.

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Ann May Perry
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman
William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
Julia Stamper Berman

Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Eleanor Smith Boone
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Glada V. Elden
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Emma T. Kessler
Eva M. Koch
Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Margaret N. Hart
Flodden W. Heron
Elizabeth Thacher Kent
Douglas Stuart Loud
Jean Parker McEwen
Irving Martin
George Lovett Merwin
C. O. G. Miller
John J. Newbegin
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Thomas L. Phillips
Ruth Loring Richardson
Warren Russell
Irving M. Scott, Jr.
Willard Brown Thorp
George F. Williamson
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata

1953

Frank H. Allen
Herbert Eugene Bolton
Marie Wilson Bradley
Paul W. Brannon
Arthur H. Breed
LeRoy H. Briggs, M.D.
Katherine Thayer Cate
Bessie Hobart Chapman
Frederick Herman Coon
Florence Osterero Cullen
Lillie E. Davis
Jerry W. DeCou
Paul Eliel
George August Fuhrig
Robert B. Gaylord
Irene L. Goudey
Mabel L. Holmes
George E. Kennedy
Winifred M. Menzies
Helen Knox Merwin
Olga M. Meyer
Katharine Hutchinson Post
J. Sheldon Potter
Laura Carmany Rulofson
Gertrude Miller Simmons
Lynn Townsend White

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

June 1 to September 1, 1953

Materials of great interest have been contributed by many friends in many places:

ALTURAS
    Miss Dorothy V. Gloster
ARCATA
    Mrs. Eugene Fountain
BERKELEY
    Edward K. Blasdel, M.D.
    Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
    Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Stuart Loud
    Hobart M. Lovett
    Fowler Mallett
    Miss Margaret Eliot Murdock
    Mrs. Rogers Parratt
    Mrs. Mary E. Rice
    Chester W. Skaggs
    Mrs. John Hudson Thomas
    Miss Emily L. Turner
    B. E. Witkin
BIGGS
    Mrs. Deane Williams
BOSTON, MASS.
    Edward Morrill
DORCHESTER, MASS.
    H. L. Kelley
EAGLEVILLE
    Mrs. Irvine Grove
GOODYEARS BAR
    Mrs. Sidney Strand
GRASS VALLEY
    Downey C. Clinch
    Mrs. James Sampson
HANFORD
    Claude Williams
HAZLET, N. J.
    John C. Mills
HOLLYWOOD
    Homer H. Boelter
HOLTVILLE
    Mrs. John Kavanaugh
HONOLULU, T. H.
    Miss Azelia L. Winchester
KELLOGG, IDAHO
    Stanly A. Easton
LARCHMONT, N. Y.
    Mrs. Charles L. Bowman
LIVE OAK
    Mrs. Clarence W. Jenkins
LOS ANGELES
    George H. Kress, M.D.
    P. M. Pike
    Justin G. Turner
MADERA
    Miss Blanche Galloway
MANCHESTER, CONN.
    Mrs. Sherwood A. Cheney
MENLO PARK
    Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
MILL VALLEY
    Miss Nora Evans
    Robert E. Wickersham
MILLS COLLEGE
    Lynn T. White, Jr.
MONTEREY
    Mrs. William M. O'Donnell
NAPA
    Hensley S. Davis
NEW YORK CITY
    Gerstle Mack
NICASIO
    Thomas E. McMorrow
OAKLAND
    Mrs. Ralph Coffey
    Ben F. Edwards

- Mrs. Frank B. Ellsworth
- Port of Oakland
- Mrs. William A. Wood

PALO ALTO
- Mrs. Everett M. Calderwood
- George L. Harding
- Guy C. Miller
- C. W. Taylor, Jr.

PIEDMONT
- Osgood Murdock

REDLANDS
- Mrs. Rex Lander Jones, Sr.

REDWOOD CITY
- Alan Brown

ROSEMEAD
- First State Bank

ROSS
- Mrs. B. K. Dunshee

SACRAMENTO
- C. M. Goethe

SALINAS
- Mrs. John A. Currie

SAN BERNARDINO
- L. Burr Belden

SAN DIEGO
- Philip A. Bailey
- *Southern California Rancher*

SAN FRANCISCO
- James de T. Abajian
- Philip Adams
- H. J. Baxter
- Henry E. Boese
- Mrs. Angus Gordon Boggs
- British Benevolent Society of California
- Albert J. Callahan
- A. Carlisle and Company
- Mrs. Frederick H. Coon
- Charles de Limur
- Depler's Book Shop
- Thomas J. Duffy
- Ludwig A. Emge, M.D.
- Milton H. Esberg, Jr.
- Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco
- Samuel L. Fendel
- Fabius T. Finch
- Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Fish
- George S. Ladd Chapter No. 27, Telephone Pioneers of America
- Mrs. Guy Gilchrist
- William H. Gorrill
- Noal R. Gray
- D. Hanson Grubb
- Miss Catherine Harroun
- Miss Florence Hazard
- Randolph Apperson Hearst
- Miss Josephine Hewitt
- Warren R. Howell
- J. S. Hutchinson
- Roy L. Juarez
- R. E. H. Julien
- Edgar M. Kahn
- Lawton R. Kennedy
- Arthur H. Kent
- Miss Mathilde La Cau
- Moses Lasky
- John F. Leicester
- Alexander T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
- Gerald Levin
- Miss Mildred Levin
- John B. McNear
- Mrs. T. Crocket Macormack
- Edward Mabson
- N. J. Malville
- Samuel Mercer
- Mrs. Marion Montague
- David Myrick
- Hartley F. Peart
- Donovan O. Peters
- Emmet J. Rice
- Steven A. Rice
- Daniel Ryan
- Mrs. Ella W. Ryan

Thomas C. Ryan
St. Francis of Assisi Roman Catholic Church
San Francisco Advertising Club
Allison E. Schofield
Mr. and Mrs. Albert E. Schwabacher
Clarence A. Shuey
Robert S. Sitkin, M.D.
Laurence H. Tharp
Mrs. Edna F. Therkelsen
Walter C. Trefts
Walter C. Trefts, Jr.
Orville Vaughn
Reginald L. Vaughan
Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Max Weingarten
Carl I. Wheat
Mrs. George O. Wilson
Fred R. Winn

SAN LEANDRO
Mrs. Edward P. Schlichtmann

SAN LUIS OBISPO
Miss Gertrude Sinsheimer

SAN MATEO
Richard Coblentz

SANTA ANA
Harry L. Hansen

SANTA BARBARA
Mrs. Donohoe Carter
Elbert S. Conner
Robert E. Easton
Mrs. Louise P. Peck

SANTA MONICA
Arthur R. Feliz

SONORA
Mrs. Ruth A. Newport

WALNUT CREEK
F. Hal Higgins

WARWICK, N. Y.
Miss Hylah Hasbrouck

WOODFORDS
Mrs. Angie T. Merrill

NOTE. — Reports of meetings held February-June 1953, scheduled to appear in this QUARTERLY, will be given, instead, in the next issue, together with those of subsequent meetings, so that a broad view of the subjects discussed during the year may be presented.

Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

California Historical Society. The Plate of Brass; Evidence of the Visit of Francis Drake to California in the Year 1579. [San Francisco] The Society, 1953. vi, 102 p. illus., maps, plates. $7.00. [$6.00 to members]

Carlisle, A., and Company. A. Carlisle & Co.; Printers-Lithographers-Stationers Since 1852. [San Francisco, The Company, 1953. 22 *l.*] illus., ports. [Apply to company]

Crites, Arthur S. A Hunter's Tale of the Great Outdoors. Los Angeles, Anderson & Ritchie, 1952. 229 p. illus. $4.50.

Edwards, Ben F. 100 Years of Achievement and Challenge; a Brief History of the First Presbyterian Church of Oakland, California. Oakland, Centennial Committee of the Church, 1953. vii, 72 p. illus., ports. [Apply to church]

Harris, Larry. A Point of View and an Occasional Other Vagrant Vignette or Two. [San Francisco, Wobber] 1953. 96 p. illus. $2.00.

Hine, Robert V. California's Utopian Colonies. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1953. xi, 209 p. charts, map, plates, ports. $4.00.

Ibañez, Florencio. Los Pastores [the Shepherds]; an Old California Christmas Play. Reproduced From the Original Manuscript in the Bancroft Library. With a Foreword by Lindley Bynum . . . Hollywood, Homer H. Boelter [1953. 33 *l.*] illus. [Apply to publisher]

James, Elias Olan. The Story of Cyrus and Susan Mills. Stanford, The University, 1953. vi, 275 p. plates. $5.00.

Jones, Dana H. L. J. Rose and the Founding of Rosemead. [Rosemead?] First State Bank, 1953. 36 p. port. [Apply to publisher]

Latta, Estelle. Controversial Mark Hopkins. N. Y., Greenberg [c1953] x, 195 p. illus., ports. $3.00.

Mallett, Fowler. Genealogical Notes and Anecdotes. [Berkeley, The Author] 1953. 5 p.*l.*, 208 p. charts, illus., ports. [Privately printed]

A Man and His Friends; the Life Story of Milton H. Esberg, Good Citizen, Successful Business Man, and Warm-Hearted, Loyal Friend; the Tribute of a Friend. [San Francisco, Privately Printed, c1953] 5 p.*l.*, 163 p. illus., ports.

Robinson, William Wilcox. Panorama; a Picture History of Southern California. Issued on the 60th Anniversary of Title Insurance and Trust Company. Los Angeles, The Company, 1953. 77 p. illus., map, ports. [Apply to publisher]

Rush, Philip S. Historical Sketches of the Californias, Spanish and Mexican Periods. [San Diego, *Southern California Rancher*, c1953] 3 p.*l.*, 96 p. illus., maps. [Apply to publisher]

Swanner, Charles D. Santa Ana; a Narrative of Yesterday, 1870-1910. Claremont, Saunders Press [c1953] 157 p. illus., ports. $3.95.

Wagner, Henry R., and Charles Camp. The Plains and the Rockies; a Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865. Third ed., rev. by Charles L. Camp. Columbus, Ohio, Long's, 1953. 4 p.*l.*, 601 p. plates. $15.00.

Wolle, Muriel Sibell. The Bonanza Trail; Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of the West. Bloomington, Indiana Univ., 1953. xvi, 510 p. illus. $8.50.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Robert F. Heizer (Ph.D., Univ. Calif., 1941) is associate professor of anthropology at the University of California and associate curator of North American archaeology in the department's museum. He is also director of the California Archaeological Survey. Among his many contributions to the California Historical Society's QUARTERLY have been a detailed paper on the archaeology at the site of Sutter's sawmill (June 1947, pp. 134-59, 186); and, more recently (June 1952, pp. 99-108), a report, with others, on archaeological exploration at Drake's Bay. It is now available, together with the original papers, in a new one-volume edition (*Spec. Publ. 25*) of the Society's Drake Plate publications.

John Haskell Kemble (b. Marshalltown, Iowa, 1912) took his A.B. degree at Stanford University in 1933 and his M.A. at the University of California in 1934. While preparing for his Ph.D. under Herbert E. Bolton and Frederic L. Paxson at the state university, he was awarded a Native Sons of the Golden West traveling fellowship for the year 1935-36. In 1936 Dr. Kemble joined the faculty of Pomona College in Claremont, California. Here he has continued to live except in 1942-46, when he was on active duty in the U. S. navy, and 1947-48, when a Rockefeller fellow at the Huntington Library. The year 1952-53 he spent at the Naval War College, Newport, R. I., as professor of military history. Dr. Kemble's special field of research is the maritime history of the Pacific Ocean and western North America, one fruit of which is his *Panama Route, 1848-1869,* published the identical year (1943) as Mrs. Paden's first book on the *overland* portion of the same migration (see below).

For a biographical note on Robert T. Legge, M.D., see this QUARTERLY, December 1946, p. 381. His contributions to the QUARTERLY have included "Medical Observations of J. P. Leonard, M.D.: San Francisco and Sacramento, 1849," in the September 1950 issue, pp. 211-16; followed, in June 1952, pp. 161-62, by further information on Leonard.

Irene D. (Mrs. William G.) Paden's books on the great mid-19th-century transcontinental migration to California have won recognition for her far beyond the area crossed. Now, taking place across other continents are other migrations that have brought the subject, most often painfully, to the attention of the public. It is doubtful, however, that any of them will have a more inspired, yet down-to-earth, chronicler than Mrs. Paden, whose use, *in situ,* of daily memoranda, letters and guides, written by the emigrants themselves, is remarkable for thoroughness. Of her books, *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner* was published by Macmillan in 1943, and has gone through successive printings — one of them by the U. S. government, for distribution among the armed forces overseas. *Prairie Schooner Detours,* also published by Macmillan, came out in 1949, and one should read a review in the *Christian Science Monitor* of March 30, 1950, to see how a Boston newsman, accustomed to the gentle byways – and swans – of his municipality's Public Garden, could enter with such appreciation into her portrayal of the dust, the glare of the sun, and the heartless winds of the mid-continent. Appearing also in 1949 was Mrs. Paden's "Facts about the Blazing of the Gold Trail, Including a Few Never Before Published," one of eleven articles in *Rushing for Gold*, which was edited by John Walton Caughey under the imprint of the University of California Press. Mrs. Paden's connection with this Society's special publication of M. B. Moorman's diary is referred to in her present article.

For a note on S. Laird Swagert, see the March 1953 QUARTERLY, p. 95. The present installment of "British Comment . . ." (omitted in June) takes it into the year 1852.

In 1952, Miss Virginia W. Thomson won the Society's honor award in history at the University of California, mention of the fact, together with a brief biographical note, appearing on page 287 of that year's QUARTERLY. Miss Thomson has just returned from a 12,000-mile cruise, during which she visited Puerto Rico, Venezuela, the island of Trinidad, Dutch Guiana, and Mexico, At present she is teaching United States history at Capuchino High School, San Bruno, California.

In the QUARTERLY for December 1950, pp. 289-95, the California Historical Society published W. W. Winn's "California Society, Sons of the American Revolution," he, himself, being a grandson of Gen. A. W. Winn, one of the founding "Sons." For an extended note on Mr. Winn and his family, see the March 1949 QUARTERLY, pp. 93-94.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS (listed in earlier issues):

G. W. Pracy, a native of San Francisco, entered the employ of the old Spring Valley Water Co. shortly after graduating from the University of California in 1908. He has continued with its successor, the San Francisco Water Department, of which he is now general manager and chief engineer. Both Mr. Pracy and his wife, the former Mabel Holliday of Martinez, are descended from gold-rush grandparents.

When Cecil G. Tilton's book, *William Chapman Ralston* (Boston, 1935), was published, the reviewer in this QUARTERLY (June 1936, p. 191) spoke of it in the most complimentary terms. As later books by Mr. Tilton appear, the critics are using similar terms. Whether the recipient treasures such compliments, we do not know, but the commendation he holds from Gen. Douglas MacArthur, for "meritorious civilian service," must carry considerable personal weight.

Eric G. Warner (b. Sweden, 1899) was a newspaper correspondent from 1915 to 1924. Since then he has been in the advertising and publishing business (viz., *This Week in Los Angeles*, and the Los Angeles Publishing Co.). But his chief interest has been in collecting rare newspapers of America, some of those that he has dating back to 1690. He tells us that his active collecting is now confined to California newspapers prior to 1950 — those which carry reports of especially significant events. Included is the *Alta California* of September 11, 1857, printed with gold ink on blue silk. Mr. Warner's collection has been exhibited throughout the country, in connection with publishers' conventions, etc.

(To be continued)

Correction. — In the note on Major (now lieutenant colonel) Curtis Hooper O'Sullivan, among the Society's new members in the June 1953 Quarterly, his paternal grandfather is spoken of as a "tenor." This should read "baritone," as those who may have had the privilege of hearing Denis O'Sullivan (b. San Francisco, April 25, 1868; d. Columbus, Ohio, February 1, 1908) sing will recognize immediately. His success in 1896, in the title-role of Sir Charles Villiers Stanford's opera, *Shamus O'Brien*, won him devoted admirers.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Joseph R. Knowland, *President*
Francis P. Farquhar, *First Vice-President*
Homer D. Crotty, *Second Vice-President*
Ralph H. Cross, *Third Vice-President*
Warren R. Howell, *Secretary*
George L. Harding, *Treasurer*

K. K. Bechtel
Allen L. Chickering
Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Aubrey Drury
A. T. Leonard, Jr.
Robert Watt Miller
William H. Orrick
Carl I. Wheat
Mrs. Dean Witter

Editorial Advisory Committee: Allen L. Chickering, *Chairman;* Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter, *Assistant Chairman;* Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Edgar M. Kahn, Miss Adele Ogden.

Committee on Special Publications: Francis P. Farquhar, *Chairman;* Allen L. Chickering, William W. Clary, George L. Harding, Miss Caroline Wenzel, Carl I. Wheat, Lynn T. White, Jr.

Committee on Membership and Publicity: Aubrey Drury, *Chairman;* Henry F. Dutton, Edgar M. Kahn, Joseph R. Knowland, George H. Kress, Miss Else Schilling.

Committee on Luncheon Meetings: Aubrey Drury, *Chairman;* Anson S. Blake, Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Henry C. Collins, Mrs. James Jenkins, Mrs. Gerald D. Kennedy, Loren B. Taber, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann.

Committee on Rooms and Exhibits: Warren Howell, *Chairman;* Mrs. A. J. Bancroft, A. T. Leonard, Jr., Miss Frances M. Molera, Albert Shumate, Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Committee on Historic Names and Sites: A. T. Leonard, Jr., *Chairman;* Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Clarence Coonan, Ralph H. Cross, Rockwell D. Hunt, Edgar B. Jessup.

Committee on Library and Gifts: Ralph H. Cross, *Chairman;* Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Elbert S. Conner, Miss Edith Coulter, Augustin S. Macdonald, Edward Porter Pfingst, A. T. Shine, Paul A. Sinsheimer, Chester W. Skaggs, Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Committee on Finance: George L. Harding, *Chairman;* Kenneth K. Bechtel, Garner A. Beckett, Allen L. Chickering, Colbert Coldwell, Francis P. Farquhar, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann, Mrs. Dean Witter.

Patron Members

Mrs. Wallace Alexander
Miss Edith W. Allyne
Miss Lucy H. Allyne
K. K. Bechtel
F. W. Beinecke
Mrs. Irving Berlin
Anson S. Blake
Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs
George T. Cameron
Mrs. William Cavalier
Allen L. Chickering
William W. Crocker
Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Edward A. Dickson
Mrs. Edward L. Doheny
O. D. Donnell, Jr.
Sidney M. Ehrman
Mrs. Sidney M. Ehrman
Charles Elsey
James Flood
Hon. Louis F. Goodman
Edward H. Heller
Miss Margaret A. Jacks
Charles Kendrick
Ralph B. Lloyd
Parker S. Maddux
Mrs. Stuart Middlemas
Henry D. Nichols
Mrs. William P. Roth
Mrs. Henry Potter Russell
Miss Else Schilling
Rudolph Schilling
Mrs. Walter Schilling
Porter Sesnon
Gene M. Tansey
Tallant Tubbs
Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Miss Johanna Volkmann
Willard O. Wayman
Mrs. Dean Witter

Sustaining Members

Mrs. John Payson Adams
Mrs. Merritt Adamson
Mrs. Leonora Wood Armsby
John B. F. Bacon
Mrs. Willis R. Bailard
Wakefield Baker
Paul Bancroft
Philip Bancroft
Bank of America
Otto Barkan, M.D.
Garner A. Beckett
Mrs. Frank Bennett
Victor J. Bergeron
Donald C. Biggs
H. T. Birr, Jr.
Nathaniel Blaisdell
Leon Bocqueraz
Joseph E. Bolt
Mrs. James G. Boswell
John D. Bradley
J. R. Brehm
George L. Browning, M.D.
Mrs. Carlton Bryan
Mrs. Henry Cartan
Selah Chamberlain, Jr.
Harold S. Chase
Bruce Church
Ted K. Clark
Dwight L. Clarke
Mrs. Edmond D. Coblentz
W. R. Coe
George W. Cohen
Colbert Coldwell
Mrs. Isabel P. Collins
Mrs. Henria P. Compton
Peter Cook, Jr.
Arthur E. Corder
Frederick C. Cordes, M.D.
Miss Etta Cornell
Mrs. Talmage Burton Crane
Ralph H. Cross
Homer D. Crotty
Mrs. Arthur D. Curtner
J. R. Dalziel
Mrs. Blake Darling
Walter Darling
Mrs. Howard Derby
Arthur C. Devlin
Lloyd Dinkelspiel
Mrs. Hugh T. Dobbins
Washington Dodge
Miss Christine Donohoe
T. G. Douglas
Aubrey Drury
Henry F. Dutton
Stanly A. Easton
Mrs. Camille J. Ehrenfels
Amos W. Elliott
H. L. Ellis
Herbert Eloesser
Carl E. Erickson
Mrs. Milton H. Esberg
Edward E. Eyre
Francis P. Farquhar
James Farraher
Paul B. Fay
Frank L. Fenton
Mrs. Henry G. Fenton
Mrs. Marshal H. Fisher
Roland C. Foerster
B. A. Forsterer
Harlan D. Fowler
Mrs. Frank W. Fuller, Jr.
William A. Gannon, M.D.
Ross H. Gast
W. T. George
Mrs. Morton R. Gibbons
Mrs. Guy Gilchrist
Mrs. Frank R. Girard
C. M. Goethe
Gordon D. Gollan
Albert H. Gorie
Mrs. Joseph T. Grace
Paul Grafe

Sustaining Members (continued)

Everett D. Graff
Daniel J. Grant, Jr.
John E. Grant
Donald M. Gregory
Mrs. Donald Gregory
Col. Allen Griffin
Berthold Guggenhime
Gordon G. Guiberson
Mrs. Horace Guittard
Edward T. Haas
Mrs. Edward F. Haas
Gordon G. Hair
Richard C. Ham
George L. Harding
Carroll T. Harris
Robert P. Hastings
Harold J. Havre
Mrs. A. L. Hawley, Jr.
Miss Lucy B. Heiskell
Mrs. E. S. Heller
Mrs. I. W. Hellman, Jr.
Griffith Henshaw
George Herrington
George Hoberg
Mrs. C. H. Holbrook
Harold C. Holmes
Miss Marian O. Hooker
Warren R. Howell
James J. Hunter
William M. Irvine, Jr.
J. B. S. Johnson
Otis R. Johnson
Willard W. Keith
Harold A. Kellogg
Mrs. Gerald D. Kennedy
Lawton R. Kennedy
Alexander King
Mrs. Robert C. Kirkwood
Joseph R. Knowland
William F. Knowland
Frederick J. Koster
Charles F. Lambert
Mrs. Charles F. Lambert
John H. Lawrence, M.D.
D. Ramsey Lawson
A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. W. J. Lindenberger
George D. Louderback
Harvey B. Lyon
Florence McAuliffe
Atholl McBean
Mrs. Atholl McBean
F. P. McCann
A. S. Macdonald
Col. Harold L. Mack
Garret McEnerney II
Mrs. Albert B. McKee
Rev. Thomas J. McKeon
J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
George M. Mardikian
Robert D. Marshall
Walter S. Martin
William Wallace Mein
John L. Merrill
Mrs. C. O. G. Miller
G. Willard Miller
Robert Watt Miller
Mrs. Maxwell C. Milton
Mrs. Randolph Huntington Miner
Mrs. Amy Requa Mitten
James K. Moffitt
Miss Frances M. Molera
Mrs. E. G. Montgomery
Mrs. Philip Morse
S. F. B. Morse
Dwight Murphy
M. C. Nathan
John Francis Neylan
E. R. Niemela
Jack Okell
Edwin Letts Oliver
Mrs. James R. Page
Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
T. M. Parks
Charles P. Partridge
T. S. Petersen
Mrs. H. D. Pillsbury
John E. Porter
Richard S. Rheem
Irving S. Rogers
Francis William Rubke
Stuart R. Rugg
San Mateo Public Library
Mrs. Thomas Schnoor
Addison Schuster
Frank Schwabacher
James H. Schwabacher
George A. Scott
Frank R. Seaver
Mrs. Eric G. Segerstrom
W. T. Sesnon, Jr.
Miss Helen Shafter
L. L. Shaw
A. T. Shine
Paul A. Sinsheimer
Howard D. Smith
Mrs. Antoinette Naglee Spruyt
Harvey E. Starr, M.D.
Walter A. Starr
Miss Lucy Ward Stebbins
Louis L. Stein, Jr.
Mrs. Sigmund Stern
Samuel S. Stevens
Thomas W. Streeter
J. F. Sullivan, Jr.
Benjamin H. Swig
Charles A. Tegner
Mrs. Helen Marye Thomas
Melville C. Threlkeld, Jr.
Mrs. Henry W. Toulmin
Mrs. Donald B. Tresidder
Jasper W. Tully
F. C. van Deinse
Capt. Frederic F. Wessell
Frank A. West
Carl I. Wheat
Mrs. Van Rensselaer Wilbur
Robert W. Williams
Mrs. George Osborne Wilson
P. G. Winnett
Miss Doris Marion Wright
Loyd Wright
Edward G. Zelinsky

Mrs. Edna Martin Parratt, *Managing Director*
Miss Gladys C. Wickson, *Editor of the Quarterly*
James de T. Abajian, *Librarian*
Miss Florence Hazard, *Staff Assistant*
Office and Library: 456 McAllister Street, San Francisco 2

Lawton Kennedy, Printer
San Francisco

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

December 1953

California Historical Society Quarterly

Editor: Gladys C. Wickson

Editorial Advisory Committee: Allen L. Chickering, *Chairman;* Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter, *Assistant Chairman;* Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Edgar M. Kahn, Miss Adele Ogden.

Vol. XXXII Contents for December 1953 No. 4

California, 1846-1860: Politics of a Representative Frontier State 291
By Earl Pomeroy

Andrew Wilson's "Jottings" on Civil War California *(Concluded)* 303
Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes
By John Haskell Kemble

The Issues in the Broderick-Gwin Debates of 1859 313
By Donald E. Hargis

The Los Angeles & San Pedro: First Railroad South of the Tehachapis 327
By Franklyn Hoyt

An Ill-Starred Voyage 349
The S.S. Golden Gate, January 1854
By Helen Rocca Goss

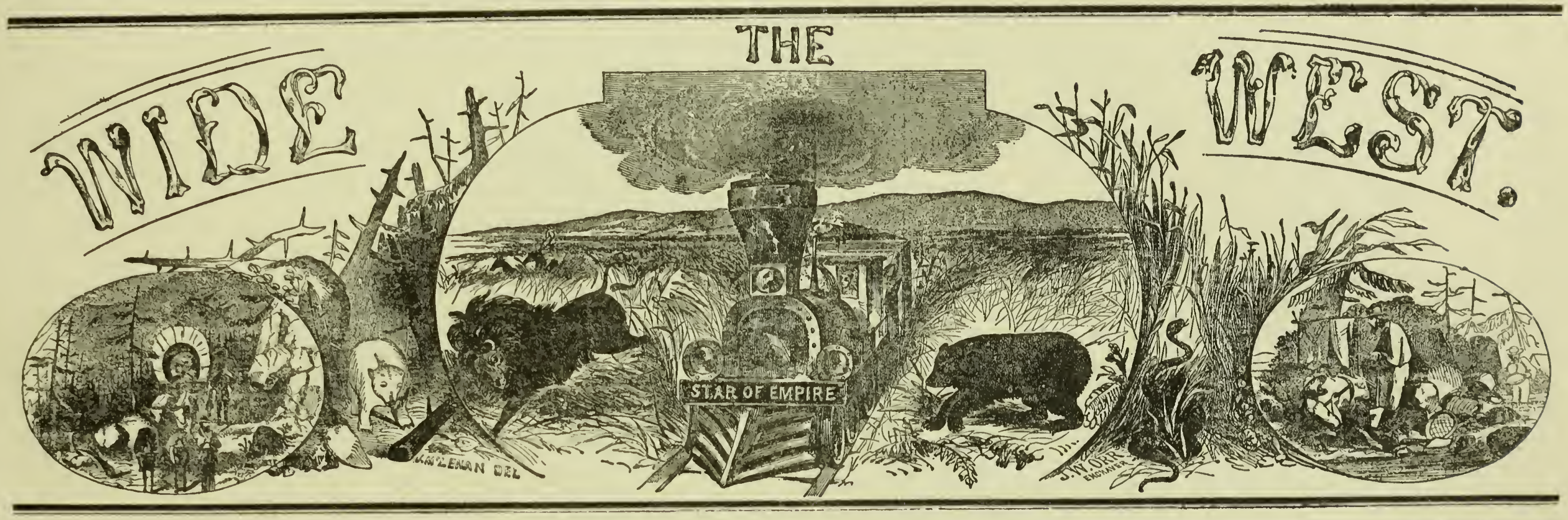
Development of Transportation Routes in the Clear Lake Area 363
By Frederick J. Simoons

Editor's Note: S. L. Swagert's "British Comment as of 1849 . . ." will be continued in the March 1954 Quarterly.

News of the Society
- New Members 372
- Gifts of Recognition 372
- Book of Remembrance 373
- In Memoriam 374
- Meetings 376
- Gifts 379

Recent Californiana 381
Marginalia 383

California Historical Society Quarterly is published in March, June, September, and December from the rooms of the Society at 456 McAllister Street, San Francisco 2, California, and distributed to members only. Extra copies and back numbers may be purchased by members at two dollars per copy (plus eight cents postage) with the exception of certain numbers which are very scarce or out of print. The Quarterly is entered as second-class matter at the Post Office, San Francisco, California. The entire contents are copyrighted, 1953, by the California Historical Society. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors. All correspondence should be addressed to the Society.


THE
WIDE WEST.
STAR OF EMPIRE
McLENAN DEL
J. W. ORR ENGRAVER

W. W. KURTZ & CO., Publishers.

SAN FRANCISCO, SUNDAY, JULY 6, 1856.

VOLUME III.—No. 17.
Whole No. 121.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

California, 1846-1860: Politics of a Representative Frontier State

By Earl Pomeroy

Foreword – In the pages that follow, I have used the term "west" to refer to various parts of the United States called western in their time and which shared with California in the experience of frontier life. Although Frederick Jackson Turner in his later years admitted that by speaking of "the West" he may have given undue emphasis to the differences between west and east, this tendency to overemphasis appeared when Turner was concerned with political demands, sectional attitudes in party programs and in Congressional politics, rather than with western institutions. Institutionally, there was enough similarity among western communities, even from Northwest Territory – the first territory –, to New Mexico and Arizona – the last of the continental territories –, to justify occasional generalization across state boundaries (Benjamin F. Wright, John D. Hicks, and others have gone beyond this, to point out institutional parallels between east and west). Men born in the last year of Northwest Territory were only forty-seven years old in the first year of New Mexico Territory. California entered the Union at the halfway point, sixty-two years after the establishment of territorial government in what is now Ohio, sixty-two years before the end of territorial government in Arizona. She was roughly a contemporary, in settlement and political organization, of a large group of western territories and states, stretching out nearly two thousand miles from the upper Mississippi. Some of the Argonauts had learned to "rough it" in Wisconsin; some would-be Californians fell by the road to settle Nebraska or Colorado.

The history of California has long owed much of its popularity to the impression that the "Golden State" was as glamorous and romantic in the pioneer period as the tourist agencies and motion-picture columnists try to tell us that Palm Springs and Hollywood Boulevard are today. Novelists, genealogists, and picaresque historians reach back to gild the gold rush now; their spiritual ancestors, who went west to "see the elephant" a century ago, loaded their reports with the stories of fortune and violence that easterners expected them to bring back, along with walnut-sized gold nuggets. Yet those who reported on elephants often had seen the normally equine, bovine, and human, rather than the abnormally pachydermous, frontier species.

No matter how hard the chambers of commerce may insist that it is "different," twentieth-century California, with its great urban populations and corresponding weight in national affairs, shares in the main themes of American life. But even in the pioneer period California well represented much of the rest of the west and thereby the rest of the nation. The states that followed it west of the Rockies resembled California more than the older western states of the Mississippi Valley, and it was not only the first but the most striking of the new generation of far-western commonwealths. The mountain metropolis of Denver was never the equivalent of San Francisco, and the Yukon was a poor successor to the tributaries of the Sacramento. In later years, the miners looked back to the days of 1849 not only with the nostalgia of old men for their youth but with the sad and proud conviction that the Argonauts would never sail again — there would never be another Golden Fleece. Literally they were right, for history never repeats itself, and the virgin places of the world were fast filling up. Yet the old story of western opportunity, adventure, and economic concentration, and, for that matter, of western cultural striving and achievement, took shape again in California in a form larger, more dramatic, and more accelerated than what westerners had known before and would know again, rather than fundamentally different. "California," said a western editor, "is in almost every respect an intensification of the American spirit. . . . All this is merely America, 'only more so.' "[1] A major opportunity in California history, as a growing group of California historians has shown,[2] is to capitalize on popular interest in the California scene and on the voluminous record of the pre-Civil War years (a record that is voluminous in part because collectors have imagined that it is unique), in order to trace pioneering experiences of *more* than local significance. The story of pioneer California reflects much of the general American spirit and scene, for those Americans who are only vicariously Californians.

On the political plane, California has seemed especially different from the rest of the west in its apparently sudden leap from Mexican province to American state after the Mexican War. It skipped the territorial period, through which all other states, except Vermont, Kentucky, and Texas, had passed, after the original thirteen. When James Marshall picked up the first flakes of gold in 1848, it was still technically Mexico; the next year a typically American state constitutional convention sat at Monterey, the former seat of Mexican authority.

So presented, such contrasts are too sharp—statehood was less sudden. Though it was never a territory, California led a quasi-territorial political life before it became a state, and in some senses afterward as well. Whereas the ingenuity of a later century has yielded nominal republics that are actually police states, the habit of territorial government was so strong by the 1840's that an area, left to be governed by the military, lived politically in civilian rather than in military style. Even formally, California approached territorial status. When Commodore Robert F. Stockton proclaimed a "territorial government" of California in 1846, he issued an "organic act" essentially similar to the act that Congress had passed for the territories of Louisiana and Orleans in 1804.[3] The name of the "Territory of California" appears on official forms as late as the summer of 1847.[4] Such usage and Stockton's proclamation itself are the more significant because they roughly corresponded to instructions sent out from Washington. Secretary of War William L. Marcy had instructed Col. Stephen W. Kearny to establish temporary civil authority, and to give assurances that the United States wished to provide governments similar to territorial governments[5]—assurances resembling those that Commodore Stockton had given a few weeks earlier.[6] Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft's instructions to the two naval commanders, John D. Sloat and Stockton, apparently did not contain the specific term, "territorial government," but Bancroft told Sloat to "encourage the people to neutrality, self-government, and friendship."[7] Later he told Stockton that the people were to be "allowed as much liberty of self-government as is consistent with the general occupation. . . ."[8] Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, like Stockton, had promised civil and political rights to the Californians when he jumped the gun and occupied Monterey prematurely in 1842; it is worth noting that his instructions to the occupying forces were word-for-word the same as Sloat's in 1846.[9]

Such civil or territorial government as California had from 1846 to 1850 was clearly distinct from the system usually applied under a territorial act passed by Congress. In the first place, it was probably illegal. It is not the function of a military commander or of the President himself to establish a territorial government; President Polk may have referred to this in reporting to Congress on the establishment of military government in California: "if any excess of power has been exercised, the departure has been the offspring of a patriotic desire to give to the inhabitants the privileges & immunities so cherished by the people of our country. . . ."[10]

Structurally as well, during the years between occupation and statehood, California's government fell considerably short of the standard territorial apparatus of legislature, judges, and civilian governor. But Californians had something of the spirit of the territorial system if not the form. Stockton's proclamation and the instructions of secretaries Marcy and Bancroft indicate a striking readiness to permit limited self-government, a privilege which is a more essential condition of territorial status than the precise forms and responsibilities of executive, legislative, and judicial departments. While Californians did not have statewide elections until 1849, they then had them for more than a year before admission to the Union, and almost from the beginning they had local elections. They had a large degree of autonomy in local government, which quantitatively at least (as in cost, numbers of officials, amount of judicial business transacted) was usually more important than territorial government in a bona fide territory, and, for the most part, was not limited by the territorial organic act. It is true that alcaldes governed the larger California towns until 1849 and that their rule was unpopular; but, on the other hand, the alcalde sometimes had to share his authority with popular assemblies. The presiding judge at the famous trial of the Hounds, in San Francisco during July 1849, was the alcalde himself.[11] Being appointed, the alcaldes sometimes were resented, much as appointed territorial governors were resented, ever since the people of Northwest Territory petitioned against the first of the governors, Gen. Arthur St. Clair; but, like the governors, the alcaldes had to concede something to local desires. The mining rush, which made California unusual, also made her more usual: it broke down the alcaldes' authority in the older towns, it drew in a new majority of men from the states, submerging the first of the pioneers and the old Spanish-speaking elements, and it meant that the majority of the population in 1849 and 1850 lived beyond the reach of the alcaldes.

The territorial system was, however, link as well as license, a significant channel for political acculturation,[12] along which western communities moved into the main currents of national politics. California again roughly paralleled the rest of the west. Though it did not have the traditional territorial officers – governor, secretary, three judges, who, by their power or their unpopularity, drew attention to the national capitol –, because of the War with Mexico and the mines it had more federal officeholders, especially treasury department and postal employees, than most territories ever had, and contests over patronage were as active as in other parts of the west. This was true in spite of the fact that the cost of living exceeded United States salaries as, later, in Nevada, Idaho, and Montana; but the prospect of statehood and profits incidental to officeholding in boom times kept offices full. A San Francisco businessman applied for appointment as navy agent, which he expected to "throw all the government funds of that department in our hands. . . ."[13] Professional politicians came west in large numbers, even without commissions: David C. Broderick and William M. Gwin told their friends before they left the east that they would return as United States senators from California. The number was so large that some attributed it to the Whig victory in the election of 1848 as well as to El Dorado. "When President Taylor was elected," said the New York *Herald*, "all the democratic politicians of the United States were thrown out of employment; and gold being discovered simultaneously in California, they went off there. . . . They introduced the New York system of politics into San Francisco. . . ."[14] The prospect of statehood and the wealth of litigation in the mines, which supported vast numbers of lawyers, probably explain sufficiently in themselves why the politicians came. They came, and they soon brought California more closely into the national political system. By the time Taylor was president in 1849, there were already enough Democrats in office in California to lead the California Democratic party, after a Whig took over the San Francisco postoffice from John W. Geary (last alcalde of San Francisco; later territorial governor of Kansas). Geary told his wife that "he was scarcely able to restrain the people of San Francisco from holding indignation meetings and expressing their feelings against the Administration of General Taylor. . . ."[15] Geary presided over the first Democratic meeting in the state, in October 1849,[16] while military rule continued.

Most of the pioneers turned to civic affairs more slowly; but, while the gold rush still continued, they moved from indifference to active concern. Like miners of other frontiers, in the early stages they often ignored politics when politics did not immediately affect them. "I do not take any interest in politics," wrote a young miner from the midst of "much excitement" and "many meetings and great speeches," as late as the election of 1852. "... I would hardly give two bits for a choice of Presidents.... Money is what we all want and came for, and when we get it and return will then perhaps look out for our country and see that she is not ruined."[17] "It was difficult to interest the miners in politics," recalled Justice Stephen J. Field; "most of them had come to the country in the hope if improving their fortunes in one or two years, and then returning to 'the states.' It was, therefore, a matter of little moment to them who were chosen members of the coming Legislature. Party lines were not regarded among them, and party questions could not draw many of them from their labors."[18] While such indifference to party politics extended throughout the western mining frontier, in California the large extent of the settled area (even larger than the mining areas of Idaho and Montana in later years) further delayed political integration. The California miners moved restlessly from San Francisco to Stockton to Sacramento, and a hundred miles or more beyond: the whole country opened up at once, whereas, a decade later, most of the Nevada miners stayed close to Carson City, most of the Colorado miners close to Denver. Two-thirds of the population of Marysville, and almost half of the population of San Francisco, were said to be transient in 1850.[19]

As the gold rush subsided, the settlement of California took on a more permanent shape, and self-interest drew men into public affairs. Few of "those restless adventurers" were arriving, noted the San Francisco *Daily Herald* in 1854. "Those who are coming now are chiefly substantial farmers, mechanics and laboring men, who intend to locate themselves permanently in our midst...."[20] San Francisco, like Denver in Colorado Territory a few years later, began to think of itself less as a mine portal and more as a railroad terminal. The relative permanency of population that talk of railroads revealed meant greater concern with politics, even aside from the political implications of transcontinental railroads. A young San Francisco bookkeeper told his father in 1849 that he was too busy to take note of political news: "I stand neuter, and keep clear of all political excitement."[21] By 1852, with a store of his own, he reported that many of the merchants were running for office (on the Whig ticket) "for the purpose of reducing taxes on personal & Real Estate and doing away in a measure with the License law...."[22] Speaking of a friend's election as alderman, he remarked,

> whether it will result in any profit to him it is very hard to say, however as far as my opinion goes I think not but as a resident doing business and as a property holder it was necessary that good men should take the reins of government into their own hands to stop the enormous robbery which has been carried on in this state and city.[23]

Property holders in the city had come together to protect themselves as early as the trial of the Hounds, in July 1849. The organization of parties followed soon afterward, coinciding with the process of organizing a state government but preceding formal statehood by nearly a year. "It was curious," wrote Bayard Taylor of San Francisco toward the end of 1849, "how soon the American passion for party politics, forgotten during the first stages of the state organization, revived and emulated the excitement of an election in the older states."[24]

California's early political assimilation lagged only slightly (if it lagged at all) because of its distinctive Spanish-speaking and foreign populations, which figure so prominently in the romantic histories and in the writings of Californians as different as Charles F. Lummis and Carey McWilliams. Most foreigners stood aloof from California politics, although foreigners (that is, those other than Anglo-Americans) in other frontier communities, as the Germans and Scandinavians of the upper Mississippi Valley, often quickly took on American political ways. There were more foreigners in California than in most of the territories; yet their political impact was slighter than one might have expected; their numbers do not set off California importantly from the main patterns of western politics. Foreign contributions such as French restaurants and Chinese laundries soon became familiar fixtures of California society; but, in politics, no "foreigner," whether native Californian or European, became quite so influential as did Father Gabriel Richard of Michigan or Padre José M. Gallegos of New Mexico (both of whom were elected to Congress). Gold again may be the explanation: foreigners were unwelcome competitors at the mines, and hence unwelcome in politics; indeed, discrimination against foreigners has been a major theme in California politics from time to time since mining districts first outlawed Mexicans and Chinese. It was not only the rough rivalry of the mining camp but also the cosmopolitanism of an urban society, urbanized while the greater part of the state was still wilderness and cattle range, that tended to keep the European from entering fully into American life. The better educated foreigners, like the Americans – and unlike the French trappers of the old northwest – tried to follow politics at home, regardless of discrimination in California; and in San Francisco both foreigners and easterners had their newspaper press, their clubs and churches. But whereas transplanted New Yorkers found it easy to transfer their interests to new branches of the Democratic and Whig parties, transplanted Parisians continued to watch the affairs of the Second French Republic and the Second Empire, and remained emigrants rather than Californians.[25] During the Civil War, Californians often suspected foreigners of partiality for the Confederacy or for Napoléon III, whose military intervention in Mexico seemed dangerously close;[26] though it might seem prudent to take no stand on American issues, they might call a foreigner un-American also if he took no side when all Americans were divided. The older residents of Spanish and Mexican stock were not often suspect, but they seldom took conspicuous parts in politics. Though seven of the forty-eight delegates at the state constitutional convention of 1849 were native Californians[27] — a ratio not disproportionate to their numbers —, few held office thereafter. Apart from some signal exceptions, the principal contributions of the Californios, as of foreigners, to political life in American California was occasionally to inspire the Anglo-Americans to go into politics in order to discriminate against them along economic lines. Ordinarily, however, the Californios were too weak to be objectionable to their new neighbors. However picturesque a part they were of older communities like Monterey, they did not significantly affect the pattern of politics throughout the state more than politically inactive groups of Anglo-American descent did on other frontiers.

California further resembled the rest of the American west in the detachment, even conservatism, of its early politics relative to the great issues that were agitating the eastern states. When their eastern brethren divided, the people of the territories may have been politically cautious partly because of the territorial system, which not only gave them no part in the election of president and congressmen but provided various penalties, including the most obvious penalty of deferred statehood, for political heterodoxy. Though territorial political campaigns were as heated as any in the states, local issues such as admission to the Union tended to take priority over the concerns of the national parties. California had statehood in 1850, but, in a broad sense, statehood was incomplete as long as the new state was physically separate from the east, as long as the mails had to move by steamship or stagecoach. Thomas

Starr King called on the presidential candidates of 1856 to declare themselves on the railroad and mail questions. "California," he warned them, "on account of her isolated position and mixed population, is independent of the party and sectional issues that now agitate the Atlantic States, and will vote in the coming Presidential election for the candidate who will favor most her interests."[28] The Republicans tried to monopolize the railroad issue, singing (to the air of "Camptown Races"),

We'll work all day and night
With all who so incline
For Frémont and Dayton, and the Railroad, too,
Against Buck and the Dromedary Line.[29]

But the *Alta* remarked that if the Democrats passed a railroad bill, as they promised to do, "nobody but the professional politicians would grumble.... The railroad is of more value to us ... than ... the selection of forty Presidents."[30] It seemed of more value to some even in 1860: since both "Northern" candidates were pledged for a railroad, said the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, "it would make little difference as to the effect upon [California's] great national interests, whether Lincoln is elected by the Republicans or Douglas by the Democrats."[31]

While they joined easily to exclude slavery from their own state, Californians, in company with most of the other new states and territories organized in the 1850's and 1860's, continued to take a casual or conservative attitude toward the Negro and slavery issues and the new Republican party, even as the Civil War came. The Republicans lagged generally behind the Democrats in the far west until they carried Kansas and Nebraska territories in 1859; in the same year, the Republican vote for governor in California amounted to less than ten per cent of the total.[32] The California Republicans won in 1860 as a minority party still, by virtue of divisions among their opponents and under a candidate, Leland Stanford, who minimized the slavery question and pictured his party as the party of the status quo, its cause "the cause of the white man."[33] Similarly, Oregon, Nevada, Nebraska, and Colorado took their places as new Republican western states with decided reservations on the Negro and race question, reservations that cost them or nearly cost them the votes of more radical Republicans of the middle west and east.[34]

By the end of the 1860's, the far west had a new orientation. Though the authorities at Washington had never been sure enough of the Pacific coast to extend the draft to it, Union men had rallied to the colors, and, when they returned home after the war, veterans from the older states joined them as new settlers, carrying their national loyalties and their Republicanism in their baggage. They carried them, and the baggage as well, the more easily because Congress had passed a railroad bill as a war measure, and the "cars" were beginning to replace the covered wagons. The Pacific R.R. Act of 1862 was a kind of pledge of economic statehood, corresponding to the promise of a national road in the Ohio Enabling Act of 1802; and the engines from east and west touched heads at Promontory in 1869 on California's second "Admission Day."

With the coming of the Civil War and the railroad, California fell into the national two-party system and into concern with national politics as never before. Kearneyism, the anti-railroad movement, Hiram Johnson progressivism, and Upton Sinclair's EPIC all had their national as well as their western counterparts. But even in her earlier years, while easterners looked to the golden commonwealth as if to a new world, California summed up and paralleled much of the political experience of the rest of the American west.

NOTES

1. *Overland Monthly* (San Francisco), second series, II (Dec. 1883), 658.

2. *E.g.*, Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold; the Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Cambridge, 1947), and William H. Ellison, *A Self-governing Dominion, California, 1849-1860* (Berkeley, 1950).

3. The only substantial difference pertains to the judiciary. 29th Cong., 2d sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 19* (ser. no. 499), pp. 109-10; and cf. *ibid.*, p. 107.

4. *E.g.*, grants for San Francisco town lots dated Nov. 18, 1846; Feb. 26, 1847; March 8 and 13, 1847; and July 15, 1847. New-York Hist. Soc.

5. June 3, 1846, in *H. Ex. Doc.* (as in note 3 above), p. 87.

6. Aug. 17, 1846, in *ibid.*, p. 107.

7. May 15, 1846, in *ibid.*, p. 80. Sloat apparently went beyond the letter of his instructions when he proclaimed that California would be "henceforward" a part of the United States – this, in 1846 before the treaty of peace –, although he *had* been told that permanent possession of California was expected. *Ibid.*, p. 102; and Bancroft to Sloat, July 12, 1846, *ibid.*, p. 81.

8. Aug. 13, 1846, in *ibid.*, p. 83.

9. General Order, Oct. 18, 1842, in 27th Cong., 3d sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 166* (ser. no. 422), p. 78; and 29th Cong., 2d sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 19, op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

10. Dec. 22, 1846; *ibid.*, p. 2.

11. *Alta California,* steamer edition, Aug. 2, 1849. George Tays, "California Never Was An Independent Republic," this QUARTERLY, XIV (Sept. 1936), 242-43, effectively disposes of a legend.

12. Dorothy O. Johansen, "A Tentative Appraisal of Territorial Government in Oregon," *Pac. Hist. Rev.,* XVIII (Nov. 1949), 485-99.

13. Charles L. Heiser to Christopher Heiser, San Francisco, Oct. 1, 1851 (New-York Hist. Soc.).

14. Quoted in *Daily Alta California,* July 16, 1856.

15. July 21, 1849, in Clifford M. Drury, "John White Geary and His Brother Edward," this QUARTERLY, XX (March 1941), 13.

16. *Alta California,* Nov. 1, 1849.

17. James Carr to Mother and Sister Susan, Woods Creek, Oct. 9, 1852, in "The California Letters of James Carr," this QUARTERLY, XI (June 1932), 167.

18. Stephen J. Field, *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California* (n.p., 1893), p. 66.

19. Georges Sabagh, "A Critical Analysis of California Population Statistics . . ., 1850-1870" (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, 1943), pp. 38-39.

20. Sept. 30, 1854.

21. Chas. L. Heiser to Christr. Heiser and Co., San Francisco, June 19, 1849 (New-York Hist. Soc.).

22. *Ibid.,* Nov. 15, 1852.

23. *Ibid.,* Jan. 14, 1853.

24. Bayard Taylor, *El Dorado; or, Adventures in the Path of Empire* (London, 1850), I, 139.

25. For a contemporary criticism of the French community for its detachment from American life, see articles by "Héritier" in San Francisco *Echo du Pacifique,* Nov. 25 and 27, 1853.

26. A case in point was a mob's attack on the premises of the French language newspaper *Echo du Pacifique* at the time of President Lincoln's assassination. Oscar Wegelin, "Etienne Derbec and the Destruction of his Press at San Francisco, April, 1865," New-York Hist. Soc., *Quar. Bull.,* XXVII (Jan.-Oct. 1943), 10-17; and affidavit by John S. Hittell, April 17, 1865, in Etienne Derbec, Mémoire, Sept. 15, 1865 (manuscript, New-York Hist. Soc.).

27. Hallie M. McPherson, "William McKendrie Gwin, Expansionist" (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, 1931), p. 99.

28. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* Sept. 30, 1856.

29. Sacramento *Daily Union,* Aug. 28, 1856.

30. *Daily Alta California,* Aug. 7, 1856.

31. A Democratic majority seemed probable, but, if the Republicans won, "There are hundreds of hungry Democrats now, who would be the strongest

kind of Republicans were the flesh-pots on that side . . .," *ibid.*, June 11, 1860. Gwin's opposition in 1860 came in large part from discontent on the mail question, rather than from opposition to his stand on slavery. *Ibid.*, Aug. 4, 1860.

32. George T. Clark, *Leland Stanford* . . . (Stanford, 1931), p. 90. A brief article on California politics in their western setting is not the place to develop the general idea of conservatism on the frontier, which I consider at some length in a forthcoming article on "The Transit of Culture on the Frontier," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Dec. 1954.

33. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 99, 102. Cf. *Memoirs of Cornelius Cole* . . . (New York, 1908), pp. 122-23, 132.

34. On Oregon, *see* Henry H. Simms, "The Controversy over the Admission of the State of Oregon," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Dec. 1945, pp. 355-74.

Andrew Wilson's "Jottings" on Civil War California

Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes,

By John Haskell Kemble

(Concluded)

San Francisco, 11th May, 1861.

You know how difficult it is to get any general information from Chinamen, and how they nearly drove the Interpreters mad, last year at the North, with their answers to the questions put to them. They are nearly as bad as that Arab Sheik who, when Mr Layard made inquiries of him as to the trade of a certain town, replied, – "Many camels come and go, but how many, and what they bring, is known to Allah alone."[23] The Chinese, however, often conceal their knowledge purposely. The front of stupidity which they present is often assumed as a protection to themselves, and assumed, at times, with much profound policy.

Such an appearance of stupidity is especially common among the Chinese in California, because they are there held down with a very strong hand, and feel somewhat depressed. As an Englishman, they were more ready to talk to me than to Americans; for, however it may be at Canton, here in California the "Ameli kee" man is by no means regarded as a benevolent friend by John Chinaman. But, of course, the information I could gather from the Chinese themselves as to their condition, could only be got incidentally, and they were a little alarmed when at first I began incautiously to ask them questions.

There is no doubt that there is a great "down" upon the Chinese in California, but I think that the capitalists of the country are favourable to the introduction of them, and that the prejudice against them is softening rather than increasing.[24] Their timidity and aversion to fighting is one reason why they are despised in a new country, where personal courage is of so much importance and is so highly valued. One of the hits which caused most laughter in the theatre I was at last night, was made by the actor who represented the coward of the piece, and who, on being forced to fight, cried out in pidgin English – "No can fightee: can wash clothes." This was received with shouts of laughter; but I am told that the Chinese are beginning to use knives and revolvers, when they are too much "put upon"; and the up-country papers often contain little paragraphs headed "Fight with Chinese," which abundantly shew that John is beginning to learn some of the characteristics of the bolder and manlier race among whom his lot has here been thrown.

I was much obliged to the Rev. Mr Loomis, a missionary to the Chinese in this place, for his kindness in taking me about among them, and acting, when necessary, as an interpreter.[25] They may be divided into two classes: The merchants who carry on the trade with China and with the gold districts, and the labourers who are on their way to and from the mines. These last are to be found in the "Kumpanee Houses," of which there are a number in San Francisco, each house being usually filled with men from some particular district or of some particular clan.[26] Thus the people of Sunon – the district of Kwang-tung opposite you in Hongkong – have got a house of their own, and you would meet there faces that had perhaps become familiar to you on shooting excursions.

On entering one of these houses, we at once see that John Chinaman, like John Bull, carries his country about with him wherever he goes. Instead of the uncorking of beer-bottles, we meet the odour of the opium-pipe; and I was told at the Custom House that about six hundred thousand dollars' worth of prepared Opium came last year to San Francisco, besides what may have been smuggled. There, also, are the little *c'ha-pui* from which the Chinaman drinks his sugarless tea, the chopsticks, the rice-bowls; and see if that dirty cook in the corner is not cutting up the identical pieces of pork-fat which forms such a stumbling-block to the European debutant in Chinese chow-chow. There is also a joss-house, richly ornamented, as it ought to be in this land of gold; and the sleeping rooms are the same little wooden boxes in which we have spent so many pleasant nights when there was scarcely room for us and the mosquitoes in them together.

The grand complaint raised by the Californians against the Chinese is, that they are most of them coolies held to servitude – in fact *Slaves*, who unfairly compete with free labour; but I could find no ground for this allegation. The head of the "Kumpanee Houses," the lodgers in the houses, and the respectable merchants, agreed in giving a different account of the state of matters. They said—and this you in Hongkong know to be the case—that nearly all the Chinese who come over to California have had some little property of their own sufficient to pay their passage, or else have been able to raise the necessary sum on the security of their friends. It frequently happens that they reach San Francisco without funds, or are reduced to poverty by some unfortunate speculation at the diggings. In these circumstances the "Kumpanee Houses" are prepared to advance money if the poor Chinaman can get a friend or two to indorse the bill. The rates of interest thus charged vary considerably, according to the character and prospects of the borrower, and run up sometimes so high as ten per cent per mensem. A very respectable and pleasant Chinese merchant, who wished his countrymen to stand well in my estimation, was at pains to explain that the high rates of interest charged were necessitated, not so much by any tendency to unfaithfulness on the part of the debtors, but because their lives and their earnings in the diggings were so insecure, that many of them were unable to pay up.

But the Chinamen who thus borrow are not engaged to the company as labourers. They are free to go where they please, and to work as they please, so long as they pay the percentage. As a general rule the work done by Chinamen at the mines is of such a kind that it does not require much combination amongst them. Capital will of course exercise its legitimate influences—here and there a wealthy Chinaman will hire a few labourers of his own race—and all men who are in debt must work at a disadvantage (to their employers, I believe, as well as to themselves), but white miners are in the same position; the most extensive works for obtaining gold have been undertaken by wealthy capitalists, and are carried out by means of white hired labourers. So far as I could discover, there were no indications of any "peculiar institution" among the Chinese in California in regard to ordinary labour different from the ordinary influence of capital in this and other free countries.

There is, however, one species of slavery among the Chinese here, as well as in Hongkong, which gives colour to the allegations brought against them. I allude to that unfortunate class of females who are really held as slaves, and of whom the very dregs are imported into California. As a general rule, Attai is not very beautiful; but the California Attai—ugly, pock-pitted, not young, and diseased, is an object to fill gods and men with shuddering and pity. Being, as I have said, the very lowest of this unfortunate class of women, they are often treated by the Chinese with great inhumanity; and when – from whatever cause – no longer able to serve the purpose of bringing money to their masters or mistresses, they are flung aside to die miserably in any corner, without any alleviation of their sufferings. Cases of this kind, brought before the police, create much indignation against the Chinese, and naturally support the idea that Chinese coolies are worked on a system to which no white labourers would submit, and which secures them toleration and the ordinary offices of humanity only so long as they are profitable by being under-worked. This feature of the Chinese system and character brings its own punishment in this part of the world.

I have said that there is a disposition among capitalists to favour the introduction of Chinamen, and little disposition amongst the people to make a crusade against them. Several intelligent men, possessing farms and gold claims, told me that they were desirous of seeing more Chinese brought over, and that the cry got up against them a few years ago, and which resulted in an illegal law prohibiting their importation, was more the work of a few cunning politicians than an expression of the feelings of the people.[27] The few gold miners with whom I had the opportunity of conversing, and who were working in the vicinity of Chinese, spoke of these latter with no dislike, and with no wish to get rid of them. One man complained that the Chinese were given to pilfering; "but, Sir," he continued, ["]when we miss anything, we just go and take its value from the first Chinaman we come across; and so that puts everything square again." Under this comprehensive judicial system, I do not see that the white miners can have any objections to the neighbourhood of pilfering Chinese; and the question of competition is settled in an equally summary manner. Whenever the white man finds the Chinaman entering into competition with him, and threatening to under-work him, he simply requests John to make tracks; and if he delays quickly drives him out to some other field of labour. Washing clothes and selling China goods appear, by common consent, to be given over to Chinamen in San Francisco; but when Irish Biddy has appeared there in sufficient strength, I question whether she will allow John to dabble in soap-suds. The Chinese work at a woolen manufactory near this, and are found to be admirably suited for that kind of labour; but I suspect that the other emigrants to California do not much care about being shut up in a close factory, when they, perhaps, get large sums at the mines, or 30 dollars a month, with their keep at a ranch, and when such advertisements as the following appear in the papers: –

"To Republicans – Wanted, four good men, *of any politics,* to split rail fences at four dollars a day."

When they are kept from competing in the fields which white labour arrogates to itself, the influx of Chinese to this new country, where labour is so scarce and so highly valued, cannot but be advantageous to all the parties concerned. There are numerous sources of development which are left untouched just from the want of labour. Thus, from want of labour, whole crops of peaches are allowed to rot upon the ground, while preserved peaches are largely used, imported from the Eastern States, where labour is cheap; and almost all the gold procured by Chinamen is got from places which have been dug over and deserted by white men. The objection that the Chinese carry gold out of the country is thus met; for it is gold that would otherwise be unprofitably reposing in the ground; and they do spend large quantities in the country. They travel in steamboats and railways, and are fond of riding about in carriages. The clothes they wear, the implements they use, the food they eat, are in great part purchased here; they themselves, with the rice and tea they use, are brought over in American ships; at the mines they pay a monthly tax of four dollars a head; they are robbed frequently by white rowdies; they pay highly for house-rent; they use a certain quantity of wine and of other European luxuries; and – viewed in every light, the objection that they carry money out of the country is one of the most ridiculous ever advanced, and I doubt very much of their doing so in any considerable quantity. I suppose, too, that some money – aye, vast sums – is "carried out of the country" to England, to Germany, and to the Eastern States, without any outcry being raised. But, oh John! unhappy friend! until you learn to fight in a civilized and manly manner, even Political Economy will fail to do you justice.

On entering a shop in San Francisco or Sacramento, the Chinaman is a great favourite. It is all – "Good John! buy this: good John! buy that." He is patted on the back, and asked high prices, it being known that he never tries to beat down; but if he fails to find what he wants, or does not meet the expectations of the owner, then the scene is changed with a vengeance, and the "dirty stinking Chinaman" is very ignominiously dismissed. I rather think, however, that, as a general rule, the Chinaman is not ill-treated so long as he does not interfere with white labour. There is a good deal of strong feeling among the people of California against the ill-treatment of Chinamen; it is not thought right or manly to do so; and in American communities this public feeling has more power than among ourselves. The respectable merchants of San Francisco complain much of their not being allowed to bear witness in Courts of Justice. When the Bishop of Victoria (Hongkong) was here, he published a letter in the local papers, eloquently calling on Californians to allow the Chinese to make statements in Courts of Justice against white men leaving it to the judge and jury to attach what value they pleased to these statements.[28] To this proposal there could be no reasonable objection; but nothing has come of it yet. The question is too much mixed up with that relating to Negroes to be settled on its own merits. It would scarcely do to allow the Chinese coolie to testify against a white man, and to refuse the same privilege to an intelligent negro. Many of the Californians consider the Chinaman to be "a little lower," and some of them "a damned sight lower, than the negro"; so they are indisposed to grant him privileges which they would never dream of granting to the black. Another matter in which these two races are classed together, along with the Indian, is that of marriage. A law has been introduced lately forbidding what are called "mixed marriages"; that is to say, marriages of white persons with black, yellow, or copper-coloured. The absurdity of such legislation scarcely merits exposure, and could only be tolerated where much prejudice and ignorance exists on the subject. In Australia, the Chinaman often takes an Irish wife unto himself, and no evil, but some good, has resulted from the practice; but here, where he is prohibited from marrying white women, there are scarcely any whites of a class likely to marry him, so the prohibition is in every case uncalled for.

On the whole, the conclusion to which we must come in regard to the state of the Chinese in California is, that they are very much kept down, and have not a fair field for the employment of their energies or the development of their character. They struck me as much more stupid and impassive than men of the same class in China. Their numbers here are estimated at about fifty thousand, and at present they are on the increase.

China Mail, September 5 [1861]

Overland China Mail, Hongkong, No. 243, 12 September 1861, p. 971.

New York, 5th June, 1861.

Those persons in China who may entertain the idea of going home to England by San Francisco, will be interested in an account of the treatment they may expect on board the vessels of the Pacific Mail Company.

I was wrong in setting down the first-class fare from San Francisco to New York at $200. It is $233 or $258, according to whether you have an inner or an outer state-room, and that difference is of very little importance, as all the state-rooms are airy. This sum covers passage and board, but does not provide beer or wines. These are retailed on board at high prices: — *e. g.*, sherry, $2 a bottle; claret, $1 or $1.50; beer, $1, or 25 cents the glass. Baths also are charged extra, so that twenty-five additional dollars may be safely added to the probable expense.

Owing to the dread of our being taken by privateers, there were only about a quarter of the usual passengers when I made the voyage. This dread was scarcely an imaginary one, as more than a hundred letters of marque had been issued by the Southern Confederacy, and a California steamer, with its freight of gold, afforded a most desirable object to the numerous desperate and reckless characters still to be found on the Spanish main, the old haunt of bucaniers. After leaving Aspinwall, we were careful to avoid every sail which hove in sight, and sometimes ran at night without lights, when any suspicious-looking craft were in our neighbourhood.[29] There being few passengers, the voyage was made very comfortably; but the traveler from San Francisco to New York in the spring and early summer may usually calculate on a large number of fellow-passengers, and the steamers from New York are usually very much crowded at all seasons. We passed one which was quite frightful to contemplate, appearing a perfect mass of human beings: there could not have been less than twelve hundred persons on board, and of these nearly one-half were females. The steamers are admirably constructed for a tropical climate, having hurricane decks running their whole length, and either the saloon, or else a large number of sleeping berths, on the upper deck. The passengers also, I am bound to say, are very respectable and well-behaved. The roughs on board are kept in their proper place, and even a very quiet person will have no difficulty in getting along peaceably. California is no longer the wild country that it was in its early years. Perhaps a sense of its former character makes it pay extra attention to the respectabilities of life, just as the reformed rowdy is of all men the most particular about his conduct.

The food given on board these steamers is on the whole as excellent as any one has a right to expect. There are three meals a day, and the following bill of fare will give you an idea of the dinner on the Panama side: —

PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP Co.'s STEAMER "*SONORA.*"[30]

Bill of Fare.

Soup — Barley.

Fish. — Fried Salmon.

Boiled — Leg Mutton, Corned Pork, Corned Beef, Turnips, Pea Pudding, Cabbage.

Entrées — Fresh Tongue, Tomatoe Sauce; Beave's Heart, and Olives; Maccaroni, Italian; Pork and Beans; Currie and Rice; Beef Pot Pie.

Roast — Beef, Pork, Mutton.

Vegetables — Potatoes, plain and mashed; Rice; Cauliflower; Parsnips; Turnips.

Pastry — Rice Pudding; Fruit Pies.

Dessert — Almonds; Raisins; Prunes; Coffee and Tea; Crackers and Cheese.

The cookery was fair; but I should like to have seen the look of a P. & O. purser when tasting the curry. On the Aspinwall side the fare was much the same, but the cookery was greatly superior. Everything was very nice indeed, and better than what is met with on board some P. & O. steamers.

The passage of the Isthmus of Panama is made with great ease and comfort. We left the *Sonora* — on board of which Captain Baby had done everything in his power to make the passage pleasant — by daylight, being conveyed to the shore in a small steamer at the Company's expense.[31] A walk of twenty yards brought us to the railway cars, and in four hours we reached Aspinwall, on the other side, where the steamship *Northern Light* was in waiting to convey us to New York.[32] The Isthmus presented magnificent tropical scenery, and it was not at all hot in these early hours of the morning. The only disagreeable thing about the transit was, being hurried through so rapidly, without an opportunity of examining Panama, or lingering a little under the shade of the huge tropical trees. At Aspinwall we remained on shore for about a couple of hours, but there is nothing to interest one there. I should mention, that only 50 lb. of baggage is allowed to each passenger, and he has to pay ten cents for every extra pound to the railway company. The arrangements, however, in regard to baggage are very convenient. It is all weighed – except what the traveler chooses to carry in his hand – the day before landing at Panama. You get tickets for your portmanteaus, and so have no trouble about them until they are safely on board the steamer at Aspinwall.

Between San Francisco and Panama the steamer stops to coal at the beautiful harbour of Acapulco in Mexico, and the traveler will do well to go on shore and visit the miserable little village there, and observe the mixture of Negro, Indian, and Spanish blood. There is no difficulty about boats, the charge being Half-a-dollar for the passage either way; and the luxuries of the place are the fruit, and the species of pigeon called "squabs," to be had at the hotel *Eldorado*. From Acapulco downwards, and from Aspinwall to Florida, it is pretty hot at all seasons of the year, though many of the American passengers continued to wear uncomfortable black clothes.

I had intended to go from San Francisco to this place across the Rocky Mountains, but did not find any one about to make the journey, and the carriage express was not running. It is to be resumed, however, next month, and the expense of going that way is about the same as by Panama. The transit occupies about twenty days, going day and night; but the traveler may stop at any of the stations he selects, and take his chance of getting on by the next mail.

China Mail, September 12. [1861]

Supplement to the Overland China Mail, No. 244. Hongkong, 15 October 1861.

This concludes the letters, written by Andrew Wilson to the *China Mail*, that have California and the Pacific as their main interest. Those dated 22 and 26 July 1861 from New York (both published in the *Supplement to the Overland China Mail* of 1 Nov. 1861) are descriptive of Civil War conditions in Baltimore, Washington, and New York, and are not included in the present series. [Ed.]

NOTES

23. The reference is probably to Austen H. Layard, a 19th-century British archeologist and traveler.

24. Anti-Chinese sentiment in California reached its height over a decade after Wilson's visit.

25. Augustus W. Loomis lived at the northwest corner of Sacramento and Stockton streets. He is listed in the San Francisco *Directory* for 1861 as a "Chinese missionary."

26. These organizations are generally known as the Chinese Six Companies.

27. Legislative activity in California looking toward the limitation of Chinese immigration began in 1852, but no law to this effect had been passed prior to Wilson's visit. For a discussion of the subject, *see* Paul S. Taylor, "Foundations of California Rural Society," this QUARTERLY, XXIV (Sept. 1945), 202 ff.

28. The California Statutes of 1850 excluded Indians, Negroes, or Mulattoes from giving testimony for or against a white person in either civil or criminal cases at law. In 1854, the California State Supreme Court interpreted the term "Indian" to include all Mongolian peoples, and therefore to place the Chinese in the same category.

29. None of the merchant steamers operating on the Pacific was attacked by Confederate cruisers or privateers during the Civil War. On the Atlantic, the steamer *Ariel* was captured by the *C.S.S. Alabama* on December 7, 1862, but was released under bond. As she was southbound, she carried little treasure.

30. The *Sonora* was a wooden, side-wheel steamer of 1617 tons, 269 feet length, 36 feet 2 inches beam, and 24 feet depth. She was built in New York for the Pacific Mail S.S. Co. in 1853, and operated regularly between San Francisco and Panama for these owners from 1854 until 1863. She was dismantled and broken up at Sausalito in 1868. Wilson sailed from San Francisco in her on May 11, 1861, and reached Panama on May 24. There were 106 passengers aboard on that trip.

31. The *Sonora* was commanded by Capt. Frank T. Baby.

32. The *Northern Light* was a wooden, side-wheel steamer. Her dimensions were: length 253 feet 6 inches, beam 38 feet 2 inches, and depth 22 feet 6 inches. Her tonnage was 1768. Built in New York in 1851, she was on the run between New York and Nicaragua or Aspinwall (now Colón) intermittently from 1852 until 1866. She was broken up in 1875. Wilson sailed in her from Aspinwall on May 25, 1861, and arrived in New York on June 2. There were 87 passengers aboard.

The Issues in the Broderick-Gwin Debates of 1859

By DONALD E. HARGIS

ALMOST EVERY CHRONICLER of California history gives the details of the Broderick-Gwin campaign of 1859, the climax of a long and bitter political feud.[1] The circumstances leading up to the campaign, the general nature of the speaking, the results of the election, and the final tragedy have been thoroughly and interestingly covered,[2] but the basic issues in the "debates" have not been explored fully. Broderick and Gwin never met face-to-face;* nevertheless, after Broderick's first speech, each read in the press what the other had said, and answered it as directly as though both had been speaking from the same platform on the same evening.

A typical account of the debates suggests that the clash of personalities and the senatorial election of 1857 were the only questions at stake in 1859.[4] One historian simply lists two other problems, both of them related to the antipathy.[5] Even Bancroft, with the most detailed analysis, slants his treatment so that the personal issues are made to seem overweeningly important.[6] A contemporary writer implies that the campaign and "The election cast no light on national issues. These never had a chance."[7] Perusal of the speeches bears out the importance of the personal clash, but it indicates, too, that larger questions were debated at length and without personal aversion. In order to appreciate the nature of the 1859 election, an examination of the debated problems would seem to be of value. To do this, the present study proposes to align, from the fourteen reported California speeches made by David C. Broderick[8] and the six by William M. Gwin[9] during the summer of 1859, some of the major questions on which there was a clash of opinion, and to quote the words of each speaker showing how he stood on the issue in question. Minor issues will simply be listed.

---

*The early part of the campaign between Lincoln and Douglas in Illinois in 1858 was carried on by long-range "debates," exactly as Broderick and Gwin did in 1859. As the Illinois campaign progressed, there were occasions when Lincoln followed Douglas to the stand by as little as three hours, and, in August, September, and October of that year, a series of actual, face-to-face debates took place. Whereas Lincoln and Douglas stressed their differences over fundamental concepts, Broderick and Gwin filled their speeches with personal vituperation and quibbles which obscured the real issues, with the result that the Lincoln-Douglas speeches had a clearer, more logical organization than did the California counterparts. Even with their many public appearances, both Lincoln and Douglas depended largely on newspaper reports of what they said to reach and convince the electorate; but the face-to-face meetings did dramatize the differences between the speakers in a way which the more remote debates between Broderick and Gwin could not do.[3]

The major issues may be listed as follows: (1) slavery; (2) the Lecompton constitution; (3) naturalization; (4) the overland mail; (5) the Pacific railroad; (6) government salaries in California; (7) the Lime Point fortifications; (8) the challenge to meet in debate; (9) Broderick's party affiliation; (10) the senatorial election of 1857; and (11) personal antipathy.

Within the space limits of the present paper it is impossible to detail all of the issues; hence, numbers one, three, six, seven, eight, and nine have been selected for elaboration. The problem of the Lecompton constitution,[10] while important to the debate, related closely to the question of slavery and was the immediate cause for the discussion of it. Although new details were introduced, the exposition of the slavery issue, given below, will include the majority of the ideas developed in the Lecompton discussion. The overland mail[11] and the Pacific railroad,[12] although argued in some detail by both speakers, were not disagreements on fundamental concepts, but over means. Both men wished for the best possible mail service and a railroad to the Pacific, but they disagreed over the routes to be used. Consequently, the debate was on fringe ideas and included much which was purely personal. The other two omitted issues, the senatorial election of 1857[13] and the personal antipathy,[14] have had reasonably extensive coverage in other sources, and, except for certain aspects of the election, are completely personal in development.

Neither is it possible within the limits of this paper to quote all that either man said on any issue. Points selected for inclusion give the essence of the man's position, and where the ideas are scattered through several speeches, as they generally are, they will be drawn together to make the position clear. Repetitions, which are frequent, will thus be eliminated.

SLAVERY

The most important of the broad issues was whether a territory could determine, before it became a state, if it were to be slave or free. This problem was debated solely on its merits. Subsidiary questions concerned the possibility of a slave code for the territories and the rumored reopening of the African slave trade. Broderick was unequivocal in his opposition to any policy which would encourage the extension of slavery.

> I contend, sir, that by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the Territories were placed upon the same level with the States; that with the exception of the power to elect the officers who should govern them, they have equal rights and privileges with the citizens of the states. Further than this, I desire to say that I believe that by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act the power was given to the people of the Territories to pass upon this class of property (slaves), as well as upon every other kind of property. If the people of a Territory see fit, by unfriendly legislation, to exclude slavery, well and good.[15]
>
> Now, it is proposed by Mr. Buchanan and his supporters to repudiate this interpretation of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; that Congress shall again commence agitation of the slavery question; that Congress shall pass an Act to establish slavery and a penal slave code in the Territories.[16]
>
> It is the determined purpose of this Administration to open the African slave trade.[17]
>
> Fellow citizens, our opponents tell us that they carry out the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty to the full extent. They say that their opinions are practically bounded by those of the highest Court known to the Constitution; and they ask us if we intend to abide by the opinions of that Court. I answer: So long as the Supreme Court keeps within its legitimate and well defined limits, it is the duty of all citizens to obey its mandates. When the Supreme Court goes out of its judicial arena to interfere with legislative affairs, to influence action upon political questions, it becomes the people to question, if not the right, at least the policy of such action.[18]

Gwin disagreed and advocated the official stand of the Democratic administration.

> If Douglas' then interpretation had been put upon the Kansas-Nebraska Bill when in the Senate in 1854, I should have voted against it. The interpretation of Douglas was that the Territorial Legislature had power lawfully, by non-action or hostile legislation, to exclude slavery. I contended no such power existed; that the Territorial Legislature possessed no other than resided in Congress; that it was the creature of Congress, and that Congress could not by any species of legislation exclude slavery; that the subject of slavery pertained to the States alone; that the

people of the Territories, when they came to form a State Constitution, and not before, could then legislate on the matter, permitting or inhibiting, as they chose; that previously they are under the Constitution of the United States and must carry out the opinions of the Supreme Court, which, in the Dred Scott decision, has declared that no such power of sovereignty can be exercised by Congress, and consequently cannot by the Territorial Legislature – its creature. . . . It has been declared and entered into this canvass, that those in opposition to the position then assumed by Judge Douglas are in favor of a slave code for the Territories. I am not – never have been in favor of it. I do not think it necessary, or that it ever will be, because the power exists in the Supreme Court to execute its own decrees, through the Government officers in the Territories. It has also been declared that the Democratic party are in favor of reopening the African slave trade. I never have and never shall be, nor do I believe one out of ten of the whole Democratic ranks, are.[19]

NATURALIZATION

The problem of the naturalized citizen, and the claim which his country of origin could make on him, became an issue because of a letter written by Secretary of State Cass. It implied that if a naturalized citizen returned to his native country he would be beyond the protection of the government of the United States. Broderick took exception to this point of view.

Have you read – I speak now more particularly to naturalized citizens – have you read the recent letter of Gen. Cass . . .? If you have not, I would urge you to pursue it, and reflect upon it. It makes slaves of you all; no other construction can be put upon it. "Once a subject, always a subject" – *once a slave, always a slave.* Now, tell me the difference. You, who have come to this boasted land of liberty, who have come here to find and make a home, consider the matter, and show the distinction, if you can. Have you no resentment for this indignity, this great wrong of citizen-discrimination? Will you sustain the infamous Administration who put forth such a doctrine as this? If you will you do not deserve to be citizens of the United States. You should tear your naturalization papers to pieces, and become quiet tools in the hands of your employers. You should not attempt to place yourselves on an equality with native born citizens, if you are such cravens as to support the authors of this most un-American doctrine. . . . I tell you frankly, if you subscribe to this doctrine, by giving your support to this Administration, you are unfit to be American citizens.[20]

Gwin, while he upheld Cass in legal terms, asserted his belief that naturalized citizens would be protected wherever they were.

It appears that an effort has been made by the enemies of Democracy to make political capital out of a dispatch from the Secretary of State in relation to the rights of naturalized citizens. Nothing could be more unfounded or uncalled for than this outcry. The action taken by our government was the same as had been acted upon since the formation of the Government, and was in accordance with the Law of Nations. According to the law of nations, if a naturalized citizen returned to the land of his birth, he was liable to the laws of that country. The United States Government were endeavoring to make treaties with the different Governments by which the naturalized citizen would be fully protected; but till such treaties were made the recognized law of nations must prevail.[21]

I undertake to say that if any citizen of the United States is ever seized when abroad, the present or any Democratic Administration will assert his rights, regardless of the consequences. If war follows, let us have war.[22]

GOVERNMENT SALARIES IN CALIFORNIA

A local question, which was a point of contention, related to the reduction of federal salaries in California. Because of the high living costs in California when the state was admitted to the Union, higher salaries were paid than in the eastern states. Broderick fought the continuance of this policy.

It has been my effort in the Senate to reduce the fees and salaries of officeholders, because I believed that there was an unrighteous disparity or disproportion between them and the wages of farmers, miners, mechanics, and the men engaged in other branches of business and labor. . . . I asserted that the price of living and of labor had fallen greatly; I asserted that the salaries of laborers were not now more than half as much as they were during the early days of California – during the flush times – and that everything else had been reduced in proportion. I knew that the expenses of our government were exceeding $100,000,000 annually, and I thought that we could afford to economize in California by reducing the salaries of Government officers, so that they should correspond, in just ratio, with the reduced price of labor and cost of living.[23]

Gwin contended that the original justification for the higher salaries was still valid.

The first point on which we differed he asserts to be the reduction of the salaries of the Federal officers in this state. As a general statement this is not true. . . . I am in favor of reducing the salaries of every Federal officer in the State, where it can be done without injury to the public service, but not the indiscriminate reduction that will bring them down to the same standard with those in the Atlantic States, on the assertion of Mr. Broderick or any other man, that the expenses of living are no greater here than there. . . . He asserted that the cost of living here was as cheap as in the Atlantic States. This I denied, and I am willing to leave that question to be settled by those who have to rent houses, hire servants, purchase provisions, and provide for the support of themselves and families.[24]

But this declaration of a Senator of the State of California that the expenses of living in this State was no higher than upon the other side; . . . was seized upon at once by the heads of the departments . . . and they have, in order to reduce expenses, brought down the rates of wages. . . . And if Mr. Broderick was to live until he was as old as Methuselah, he would never be able to repair the injury he has done by his action and statements upon these subjects.[25]

THE LIME POINT FORTIFICATIONS

Broderick and Gwin advocated the fortification of Lime Point at the entrance to San Francisco Bay, but they disagreed on the amount to be paid for the land.[26] This issue had personal implications, with charges of misconduct and graft. Broderick asserted that the government should not pay the price demanded by the owner.

I am accused of defeating the appropriation for the purchase of a barren tract of land known as "Lime Point." The history of this matter can be given in a few words: Previous to my election to the Senate I heard that an offer had been made for the sale of this property for $200,000. . . . Any scheme for obtaining $200,000 for this piece of land appeared too preposterous for serious consideration. . . . I introduced a resolution for the purpose of ascertaining whether Government intended to buy the tract or not. The prompt answer of the Secretary of War was that such had been the intention of the Government, but that, upon my assurances as to its actual value, the purchase was delayed. The subject remained in this condition for a year, and until the last session, when my colleague, Dr. Gwin, introduced a resolution calling upon the Military Committee to inquire and ascertain if any fraud had been attempted in the proposed purchase of the land.[27]

I wish to call your attention to a subject which Dr. Gwin has dwelt upon in all his speeches – that I charged corruption upon the Government, or the Government officers, in the Lime Point affair. I here cite an extract from the *Globe* record, giving the remarks which I made upon this matter. . . . I said nothing derogatory to the character of the officers of the Government; on the other hand, that I complimented the Secretary of War.[28]

My confident belief is, fellow citizens, that Dr. Gwin and Governor [John B.] Weller were both interested parties, or else they would never have taken the trouble that they did to urge the payment of $200,000 to the owner of this property, when they knew that a sufficient amount of land whereon to erect the contemplated fortifications was not worth over five or six thousand dollars.[29]

Gwin advocated making the purchase and answered the charge of graft.

Lime Point follows next in his speech, and this is the great gun of his campaign . . . I took my seat in the Senate, I voted, as did every member of the Senate, for the appropriation of $300,000 to purchase a site and continue the fortifications of the bay of San Francisco, and afterwards urged the commencement of the works with the least possible delay. I wished the harbor to be speedily fortified. . . . Mr. Broderick, in commenting on the proposed purchase of the site, denounced it as "an enormous fraud," and at the next session made the same charge. The charge of fraud involved the purchaser as well as the owner of the property, and on this reiteration of the charge I offered a resolution instructing the Committee on Military Affairs, of which Mr. Broderick was a member, to investigate the subject.[30] The result of that investigation proved that, so far as the officers of the Government were concerned, the charge was absolutely false, and had not the shadow of truth to rest upon.[31]

He says that he is perfectly satisfied that Governor Weller and myself are interested in said purchase. Now, if he means that we are interested that the fortifications of the harbor of San Francisco should go on, why he tells the truth, for we have, as colleagues in the Senate, exerted with eminent success the influence we had in getting large appropriations to complete the defenses necessary to render our most important port what it can and ought to be made – as impregnable as Gibraltar. But if he means we have any other interest his statement is . . . false.[32]

THE CHALLENGE TO DEBATE

The challenge for a face-to-face debate, which was made by Broderick in his opening speech in the campaign, was the first completely personal issue.[33] He repeated it in every subsequent speech, and that led to an acrimonious exchange of charge and countercharge with Gwin. Needless to say, the debate was never arranged, although Broderick gave his challenge in specific terms.

I had hoped, fellow-citizens, that my colleague, Dr. Gwin, would have been present with me to discuss the principles involved in the present campaign. My personal relations with him, for the past eighteen months, have been such that I could hardly have invited him to such a debate, while I consider that it was well understood that the national issues of this campaign were to be discussed by us before the people of this State. . . . The challenge for a popular discussion, fellow-citizens, was given to me by Dr. Gwin, when he presented [in the Senate] the resolutions of instruction passed by the Legislature of this State. . . . Dr. Gwin is now in the State, and I am here in obedience to his invitation, and to sustain my position.[34]

I am not desirous of closing this contest until Dr. Gwin has lived up to his *invocation* and met me face to face before the people. I challenge him to a fairly arranged discussion, and will agree to abide the result. There is no excuse that will answer for his non-appearance. Until he lives up to his own promise – I should call it, rather, his threat . . . I accuse him of evading the contest; and his friends should have the goodness to refrain from prating about his assumed ability to prosecute me or my asserted incompetency to defend my course. Let him come out with me before the State of California.[35]

Gwin expressed his willingness to debate, but he averred that in his opinion the meeting would never take place.

> I allude to Mr. Broderick; and I am told that he made an inquiry here [Forest Hill] and expressed a regret that I was not present; that he had expected I would accompany him in his tour in the various counties of the State; and I have come to tell you why I was not here when Mr. Broderick addressed you, a few days ago — it was because I was not invited. He had not given me any intimation that he desired to meet me before the people of this State until he said so in this place. . . . Why, gentlemen, we live in the same town [San Francisco], and at any time within ten minutes he could have sent me a communication, if he wished to do so, of his desire to meet me before the people. . . . The fact is, fellow-citizens, that Mr. Broderick did not wish to meet me, or anybody else, before the people, for it was very doubtful if he could make a canvass of the State or not. At that time he had never, to my nowledge [*sic*], made a speech before the people of this State, or any other State, and public speaking is a gift he does not possess; and it was very doubtful if he could speak before the public at all.[36]
>
> It was never intended that Mr. Broderick and myself should meet in public discussion, but he gave that impression to the people of the State. It was one of the games he plays and always has been in the habit of playing. I, therefore, stated . . . as the reason why Broderick did not desire to meet me that I should have introduced some other subjects than those he treated of and asked some very troublesome questions concerning his various acts of omission and commission. . . .[37]

BRODERICK'S PARTY AFFILIATION

Broderick's split with the regular Democratic party in California in 1858 and 1859 and his action in defying the legislature and the President over the Lecompton constitution led to the charge that he was an apostate. Broderick was vehement and vigorous in his denial.

> It is charged that I have deserted the Democratic party. That this charge is false I will proceed to show. For eighteen years, ever since I had a vote, I have been unwavering in my attachment to the Democratic party, and to Democratic principles. It is no egotism for me to say, that I have done more for the party, made heavier sacrifices, expended more money for its success, than all the party leaders.[38]
>
> During the first session of the last Congress I attended all the caucuses of the Democratic party, until the door was shut in my face, when I refused, with Judge [Senator Stephen A.] Douglas [of Illinois] and Mr. [Senator Charles E.] Stuart [of Michigan], to support the Lecompton fraud. . . . During the last session of Congress I was invited to attend every meeting called by the Democratic members. . . . All this cry about my having been read out of the party is false, and the men who proclaimed such a statement from the stump knew it to be false when they made the proclamation.[39]

> He says that we are linked with the Republican party. That is a very foolish charge, as well as absolutely untrue. The Republican party have a ticket before you for your suffrages. So also have the Lecompton and Anti-Lecompton parties – all distinct and separate organizations. We have made no alliance with the Republican party. We are the Democratic party. We have the principles of the Democratic party – the Lecomptonites have abandon[ed] them.[40]
>
> I am accused of deserting the Democratic party – abandoning the principles I once cherished. Reputation for consistency with me will never outweigh the satisfaction of being right. I could indite no epitaph to be placed over me in the future which would be a higher reward than this: "He never deserted principle."[41]

The personal antipathy was nowhere more evident than here. Gwin took up the issue with evident relish.

> After Congress adjourned he [Broderick] returned home; found that he was in a minority in the Democratic Convention; bolted it; called another; nominated a ticket; joined the Black Republicans, the enemies of the Democracy; went before the people of the State and was ingloriously beaten.[42] . . . First, he pretended to be a Democrat; afterwards assumed to be a member of every party from whom he could get a vote to sustain him in his proceedings.[43]
>
> Altogether surrounded by Democrats, he left, and went into the lines of the Republicans.[44] I know there was a general jubilee in the Democratic seats when he went over, for he had not for a long time acted with us on any important question. He says that it is false that he has been excluded from the Democratic organization, and declares that he was invited during the last of the session to attend the caucus. *I do not believe it*. . . . Now, I happen to know that Broderick never attends a caucus. . . . Broderick was left off the committee on Public Lands because he was not recognized as a Democrat. . . . Broderick was not recognized as a member of the Democratic party.[45]
>
> He is a traitor to the party that elected him, and has gone over to the party once his enemies. Their leader, [Senator William H.] Seward [of New York], calls him the "young, but brave Senator from California."[46] They nursed him in order to give him strength to attack the Democratic Senator from this State. Presently he became useless to them, and they "sloughed" him off. They tried him last year – found he had not strength enough for them, and was, in fact, a bad associate. If the Republicans think that of him, what, in the name of God, does anybody else?[47]

A group of minor issues played a secondary role, as they had neither the importance of the major ones nor was so much time devoted to them. Certain of them were but mentioned in passing and one or two were omnibus issues, which extended through several problems. In some, the personal element was strong; and in others, insignificant.

There were nine of these issues. (1) The question arose: was it Broderick or Gwin who should vindicate his actions before the people of California? This discussion became highly personal and was appended to various of the major issues.[48] (2) The problem – which man had accomplished the more for California? – developed into an attack and defense of the legislation which Gwin had fathered and of Broderick's paucity of positive attainment.[49] This exchange also was colored by personality and attached to other issues. (3) The indictment by Broderick that Buchanan's administration was corrupt was made in divers speeches. It was a general accusation, which became detailed in regard to the fund for the acquisition of Cuba, the government coal contracts, and the navy purchase contracts. Gwin made broad assertions upholding the honesty of the administration, but did little to contravene the specific charges.[50] (4) To Broderick's assertion that Gwin was opposed to a plan to establish land-grant agricultural and mechanical colleges, Gwin made scant reply.[51] (5) A highly personal issue, never developed in detail, but to which both referred, was that Gwin was the paid agent of the Pacific Mail S.S. Co. and had bought the political support which elected him to the senate.[52] (6) The use of a relief fund for the survivors of the Mountain Meadows massacre, an obscure issue at best, received summary treatment by both men.[53] (7) The charge that Broderick had forgotten his working-class origin and had debased the worth and intelligence of the laboring man was countered with a brief and heated denial.[54] (8) The split in the Democratic party in California was, in reality, a sub-issue to the problem of Broderick's party affiliation. Broderick asserted that the Anti-Lecompton wing was the *true* party, while Gwin countered, citing the permanency and accomplishments of the regular organization.[55] (9) Both speakers claimed to favor a homestead system for the United States, but Broderick charged that Gwin actually opposed it.[56]

On these issues the campaign was fought; and, in terms of the influence which the speaking had on the voter, the election was decided. There was wide variation in the degree to which the dispute over each of the major issues was either personal or factual. The problems of slavery and the Lecompton constitution, basic to the struggle both locally and nationally, were discussed on their merits. Five questions in which the personal loomed large, but which still were argued on fundamental facts and their interpretation, were naturalization, the overland mail, the Pacific railroad, government salaries in California, and the Lime Point fortifications. Of the remainder of the major issues, the challenge to meet in debate and the personal antipathy were entirely individual in aspect, and Broderick's party affiliation and the senatorial election, while overwhelmingly personal, yet included argument over basic concepts.

While the personal clash undoubtedly was more spectacular than the discussions of fundamental problems and did steal the limelight from them, yet no careful reader can doubt that there was full and free exploration of the larger questions agitating the electorate of the United States in 1859, and of local problems concerned with California and the west. These issues formed the framework for the debates, demonstrating the essential differences in belief between the two men. Future historians of this period now have at hand evidence that the clash of personality was not the only feature of the Broderick-Gwin campaign of 1859.

NOTES

(*SU* indicates Sacramento *Daily Union;* the year is omitted, as all citations to the *Union* are for 1859.)

1. In September 1859, California voters were to elect state officers and two representatives in Congress. Three parties were in the field for the campaign: the Lecompton or "regular" Democrats, the Anti-Lecompton or "maverick" Democrats, and the new Republican party. All three groups had full slates of candidates except that the Republicans and the Anti-Lecomptonites had a joint candidate for one of the Congressional posts. While the Republicans campaigned actively, the real struggle was between the two wings of the Democratic party and essentially between their leaders, Broderick for the Anti-Lecomptonites and Gwin for the Lecompton faction.

2. *Cf.* Jeremiah Lynch, *A Senator of the Fifties* (San Francisco, 1911); James O'Meara, *Broderick and Gwin* (San Francisco, 1881); H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1888), VI, 722-39; John S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1878), pp. 305-19. For an analysis of the speaking of Broderick and Gwin, *see* Donald E. Hargis, "D. C. Broderick: Pioneer Senator," *Speech Monographs,* XVII (June 1950), 149; and "W. M. Gwin: Middleman," *ibid.,* XX (Nov. 1953).

3. For the eastern analogy, see *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*, ed. by W. N. Brigance (New York, 1943): pp. 777-827 (F. L. Whan, "Stephen A. Douglas"); pp. 828-58 (M. F. Berry, "Abraham Lincoln: His Development in the Skills of the Platform"); and pp. 859-77 (E. W. Wiley, "Abraham Lincoln: His Emergence as the Voice of the People").

4. Lynch, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-98.

5. Hittell, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

6. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 723-30.

7. William H. Ellison, *A Self-governing Dominion* (Berkeley, 1950), pp. 300-303.

8. *SU*, July 11, 14, 16, 19, 22, 25 and Aug. 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 18 (two speeches), and 26. In that order, the speeches were given in the following towns on these dates: Placerville, July 9; Forest City, July 12; Marysville, July 14; Nevada, July 16; Downieville, July 18; Quincy, July 21; Yreka, July 26; Weaverville, July 28; Shasta, July 29; Red Bluff, July 30; Sacramento, Aug. 9; Columbia, Aug. 13; Stockton, Aug. 15; and San Jose, Aug. 23. The texts of these speeches and of Gwin's are available only in newspapers and have never been analyzed in detail. ("Nevada" refers to Nevada City.)

9. *SU*, July 15, 18, 29, Aug. 1, 2, 15. In that sequence, the speeches were delivered as follows: Grass Valley, July 11; Forest Hill, July 16; Yreka, July 23; Weaverville, July 26; Shasta, July 27; and Marysville, Aug. 12.

10. Broderick, *SU*, July 11 and 22; Gwin, *ibid.*, July 15.

11. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 11 and 19; Gwin, *ibid.*, July 15 and Aug. 15.

12. Broderick, *ibid.*, Aug. 18; Gwin, *ibid.*, Aug. 1 and 13.

13. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 19, Aug. 10 and 18; Gwin, *ibid.*, July 29 and Aug. 1.

14. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 18 and 25, Aug. 1, 6, and 18; Gwin, *ibid.*, July 15, 29, Aug. 1 and 2, for the principal examples of personal antipathy, although they occur in every speech. *See also* citations to Lynch, O'Meara, and Bancroft (as in note 2 above) for discussions of the personal antipathy and the election of 1857.

15. *SU*, Aug. 1.

16. *Ibid.*, July 11.

17. *Ibid.*, Aug. 18.

18. *Ibid.*, July 11.

19. *Ibid.*, Aug. 15.

20. *Ibid.*, Aug. 1.

21. *Ibid.*, July 18.

22. *Ibid.*, Aug. 1.

23. *Ibid.*, July 11.

24. *Ibid.*, July 15.

25. *Ibid.*, July 18.

26. Lime Point is the northern boundary of the Golden Gate.

27. *SU*, July 11; *Congressional Globe*, 1857-58 (Washington, D. C., 1858), II, 1240.

28. *SU*, Aug. 6; *Globe, op. cit.*, 1858, III, 2068-69.
29. *SU*, July 25.
30. *Globe, op. cit.*, 1859, II, 599.
31. *SU*, July 15.
32. *Ibid.*, Aug. 2.
33. *See* Broderick's speech, *ibid.*, July 11.
34. *Ibid.*, July 16.
35. *Ibid.*, July 19.
36. *Ibid.*, July 18.
37. *Ibid.*, Aug. 2.
38. *Ibid.*, July 11.
39. *Ibid.*, July 25.
40. *Ibid.*, Aug. 6.
41. *Ibid.*, July 11.
42. In the summer of 1858.
43. *SU*, Aug. 1.
44. He took a seat on the Republican side of the senate during the 1858 session.
45. *SU*, Aug. 2.
46. *The Works of William H. Seward*, ed. by G. E. Baker (New York, 1884), p. 596.
47. *SU*, Aug. 1.
48. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 19 and 25; Gwin, *ibid.*, July 15 and 18.
49. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 11 and 16; Gwin, *ibid.*, July 15, Aug. 1.
50. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 25, Aug. 1, 4, and 26; Gwin, *ibid.*, July 18, Aug. 2 and 15.
51. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 25; Gwin, *ibid.*, Aug. 2.
52. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 25, Aug. 6; Gwin, *ibid.*, Aug. 1 and 2.
53. Broderick, *ibid.*, Aug. 6; Gwin, *ibid.*, Aug. 15. In 1857, a group of settlers on their way to California were killed at Mountain Meadows in Utah, and the federal government provided funds to return the surviving children to the east. Charges were made that this money was misappropriated.
54. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 14 and 28; Gwin, *ibid.*, Aug. 2.
55. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 11, Aug. 26; Gwin, *ibid.*, July 18, Aug. 1.
56. Broderick, *ibid.*, July 25; Gwin, *ibid.*, Aug. 2.

The Los Angeles & San Pedro: First Railroad South of the Tehachapis

By Franklyn Hoyt

From early Spanish days, the principal seaport for Los Angeles had been the harbor at San Pedro, but it never was much of a harbor. When Dana visited San Pedro Bay in 1835, he described it as the worst harbor he had seen along the coast. "What brought us to such a place, we could not conceive. . . . we lay exposed to every wind that could blow, except the northerly winds." Nevertheless it was the best harbor between San Diego and Santa Barbara, and Dana learned to his surprise that this "desolate-looking place . . . furnished more hides than any port on the coast."[1]

Oxcarts supplied the first means of transportation between the harbor and Los Angeles. Then, with the American conquest of California, large horse-drawn wagons began to appear on the road; but even in the 1860's, a good deal of freight was still being carried by oxcart. The first agitation for a railroad connection between the two places seems to have come from the *Southern News*, a weekly paper published in Los Angeles:

> Now is the time for the enterprise of our city and its vicinity to move in this matter [of a railroad to San Pedro]. . . . The increased development of the mines of this section demands that something should be done.[2]

Abel Stearns, assemblyman from Los Angeles, introduced two bills at Sacramento in April 1861, authorizing the City of Los Angeles to subscribe $50,000 of the capital stock of a railroad from Los Angeles to San Pedro Bay, and the County of Los Angeles to subscribe $100,000. These bills were passed by both houses of the legislature, but no advantage was taken of them.[3] Similarly lacking in results were bills introduced in 1863 by E. J. C. Kewen of Los Angeles.[4]

Three years elapsed and Los Angeles was still unable to persuade anyone to build the railway. In January of 1866, Phineas Banning, state senator from Los Angeles, wrote to the Los Angeles County board of supervisors asking their support for a railroad bill which he was introducing. The supervisors complied by passing this resolution:

> Our representatives are hereby requested to ask the legislature of California to grant a franchise for the contemplated Rail Road between Wilmington and the City of Los Angeles as suggested by our Senator Phineas Banning.
>
> And that the County of Los Angeles will advance $200,000 of her Bonds bearing ten per cent per annum towards its construction and completion.[5]

Banning introduced his bill in the senate on January 26, 1866, and it was referred to the committee on corporations. This committee never reported on the bill, and it apparently never came to a vote in the senate.[6]

At the next session of the legislature, Senator Banning introduced two railroad bills which authorized the County of Los Angeles to subscribe $150,000 in capital stock and the city $75,000. These bills were passed by the legislature and signed by the governor February 1, 1868.[7]

Two weeks after the governor's signature had been affixed, the first stockholders' meeting of the Los Angeles & San Pedro R.R. Co. was held in Los Angeles. John G. Downey, former (1860-62) governor of California, was elected president of the railroad; other members of the board were John S. Griffin, M.D., John King, and Matthew Keller. Articles of incorporation were drawn up and filed with the secretary of state on February 18, 1868.[9]

According to the act passed by the legislature, the railroad's board of directors was to petition the common council of the City of Los Angeles and the board of supervisors of the County of Los Angeles asking that an election be held to approve the railroad subsidy. These petitions were duly presented, and the election was set for March 24, 1868.[10]

There was considerable opposition to the railroad, particularly in the rural areas of the country. The *News* stated that it was opposed by the large cattlemen, who preferred "the cattle upon a 'thousand hills.' " Wilmington, Halfway House, Los Angeles, and San Gabriel voted in favor of the railroad; Ballona, San Fernando, Old Mission, San Jose, Los Nietos, Silver District, Anaheim, El Monte, and Azusa were opposed. Santa Ana and San Juan did not vote.[11]

The large number of favorable votes cast at Wilmington and at Los Angeles were the deciding factors, although it is difficult to arrive at the exact vote. According to Guinn, the vote was 700 for, and 672 against, in the county; 347 for, and 245 against, in Los Angeles.[12] The official returns for the City of Los Angeles were 397 for, 245 against, and 24 "scattering"—a total of 666 votes. April 3, 1868, the board of supervisors met and the county clerk stated that he had received the returns from all precincts except Santa Ana and San Juan Capistrano. "The Board thereupon proceeded in public to open and canvas said election returns and to estimate the vote of Los Angeles County." It was then declared that the election had passed, but no official count was recorded.[13]

Several bids were received; eventually the contract for building the railroad was awarded to Phineas Banning, owner of large real estate holdings at Wilmington and the person mainly responsible for getting the railroad bill through the legislature. Banning's contract called for completion by January 1, 1870, and payment was to be at the rate of $19,000 per mile. First mortgage bonds were to be issued to pay for construction material and equipment as it arrived. According to the bill passed by the legislature, the city and county bonds were to be issued for each mile of railroad as it was completed.[14]

The sum of $70,000 was paid at once to Phineas Banning and David W. Alexander, to cover property and equipment at Wilmington purchased by the railroad company. This included $39,000 for a depot tract of about fifteen acres and a large coal shed, a small warehouse "now being used as an office," and a right-of-way thirty feet wide through Banning's shipyard and graving yard.[15] Banning and Alexander were also paid $31,000 for four lighters, five "boats and skiffs," three steamers, and miscellaneous beacons and buoys.[16]

The contractor was to furnish two locomotives, two turntables, two sixty-passenger cars, two express cars, ten platform cars, three box cars, and two hand cars. One "way water station" was to be built; also a depot at Los Angeles, not to cost more than $6,000; and one depot at Wilmington, which was to be altered from existing buildings at a cost of $2,000, including the water station.

It was also specified in the contract that the operator of the road could not charge more than $6 per ton for carrying dry goods from the anchorage to Los Angeles, and other charges were fixed as follows: groceries $5 per ton, staves $4 per ton, empty wine pipes $1 each, lumber $7 per thousand. From Los Angeles to the anchorage: grain $2.50 per ton, wool $3.50, wine $3, green hides $3.50, and dry hides 8¢ each. Passengers were to be charged not more than $1.50 for a ticket from Los Angeles to Wilmington, and not more than $1 for being ferried from the Wilmington wharf to the ship.

When a wharf was constructed which would enable the railroad to dispense with lightering, freight charges were to be reduced about one-third to the following maximums: dry goods $4 per ton, groceries $3, grain $2, staves $3, wine $2.25, wool $3, fruit $3, green hides $3, lumber $6 per thousand, and dry hides 6¢ each.[17]

Ground was broken at Wilmington on Saturday, September 20, 1868, and, on the following Monday, the *News* reported that a strong force of men was already at work. Part of the rails and other material were already at Wilmington; the remainder of the rails had been shipped from England, and it was expected that the railroad would be finished the following summer. Machine shops, planing mill, and a wheelwright shop were built at Wilmington; the railroad cars were constructed in these shops.[18]

Banning apparently did not intend to do the construction work himself, and on September fifth the assignment of his contract to H. B. Tichenor, a San Francisco businessman, was "approved, conditionally, upon the latter giving sufficient surities." Three days before this, the board had approved the transfer of Banning's private stock to Tichenor.[19]

During the early part of September 1868, the first twelve miles of the route from Wilmington to Los Angeles was decided upon. The route selected was called the "Dominguez route" because it skirted the eastern base of Dominguez Hill. Two members of the board of directors, Downey and Schumacker, opposed this route; they preferred the "Lake route" running west of Dominguez Hill through part of Rancho San Pedro owned by Downey.[20]

To avoid more trouble, the board of directors appointed a special committee to recommend a route from Dominguez Ranch to Los Angeles. On December fourteenth, the committee members (Woodworth, Keller, and Downey) recommended that the route follow the San Pedro Road and Alameda Street, and, without a dissenting vote, the recommendation was approved by the directors. About two months later, the common council of the City of Los Angeles gave the railroad a right of way along Alameda Street from the city limits to Aliso Street.[21]

From Wilmington to the Los Angeles city limits, the right-of-way cost the railroad about eight dollars. It was one hundred feet wide, and the various deeds stipulated that the property would revert to the original owners if the railroad were not built, or if the tracks were ever taken up. Most of the land within the city limits of Wilmington was owned by Phineas Banning or by the partnership of Banning and Alexander. Between Wilmington and Dominguez Ranch, two miles of right-of-way were donated to the railroad company by George Hauser, Isaias W. Hellman, F. P. Temple, and F. W. Gibson. These deeds were all for the nominal sum of one dollar.[22]

The longest right-of-way obtained from a single property owner was through the Dominguez Ranch. It was 100 feet wide, 33,000 feet long, and contained 77 acres. Manuel Dominguez deeded the property to Phineas Banning for $3.75 and "payment of taxes for the present year." Two months later, on December 1, 1869, Banning deeded the right-of-way to the railroad for one dollar.[23]

During February 1869, several attempts were made to buy a lot at the corner of Aliso and Alameda streets for use as a depot site. This 50 x 178 foot lot was owned by a Mrs. Madigan, who demanded $14,000 in gold for her property. Finally, the project was dropped, and the "present" lot was purchased from John G. Downey and James F. Burnes for $10,000. The two lots composing the depot site had a combined size of about 410 x 190 feet, and were located on the southwest corner of Alameda and Commercial streets. The larger of the two was owned by Downey, who was paid $8,000; Burnes was paid $2,000 for his lot.[24]

H. B. Tichenor, the subcontractor, made the payments to Burnes and Downey, and, as reimbursement, accepted about $11,000 worth of first mortgage bonds at 85¢ on the dollar. The difference between the two amounts was "adjusted" to his account. The depot Tichenor built on the site cost $6,000, as specified in his contract. Harris Newmark describes it as being not much more than a freight shed, without adequate facilities for passengers. "A small space at the North end contained a second story in which some of the clerks slept; and in a cramped little cage beneath, tickets were sold."[26]

At first, rapid progress was made in building the railroad: by December 14, 1868, the second mile was finished; two months later, the third. Then things began to go more slowly so that by June 14, 1869, only six miles of track had been finished. Farmers were beginning to make loud complaints, because a large grain crop was in prospect, and they were counting on the railroad to save them considerable money on freight charges to San Pedro. Additional construction gangs were put to work, and, by June twentieth, seven more miles had been finished. On August

19, 1869, bonds were paid to the railroad upon completion of the seventeenth and eighteenth miles.[27]

Opposition developed to the laying of tracks down the center of "The Lane," as Alameda Street was sometimes called, and work was stopped until the dispute could be settled. At the regular meeting of the common council, on August 19, 1869, C. E. Thom presented a petition, signed by "a number of citizens," asking that action be taken to prevent laying of tracks on Alameda Street.[28]

The petition was referred to a special committee, which made its report on October fourteenth. After considering this report, the council adopted the following resolution:

> Resolved by the Common Council that the City Marshall forthwith notify the President of the Los Angeles and San Pedro Rail Road Co. or such person or persons who have the present management of the building of said Rail Road to immediately remove the center and side track of said Rail Road from the southern line of Commercial Street, and if not removed within five days by said company, that Marshall proceed to have the same removed.[29]

While the dispute was going on, work was stopped opposite the old Wolfskill home on Alameda Street – then "far from town." Passengers and freight were unloaded here until the wrangling blew over and work could be resumed.[30]

With an excursion to Wilmington and a grand ball at the depot, the railroad was formally opened October 26, 1869, an estimated 2,000 people participating in the festivities.[31] On the same date, the road was transferred from the contractors to the company. The first train left Los Angeles at nine o'clock in the morning and arrived at Wilmington within an hour.

Trains began to run on regular schedule November 1, 1869, but at first the service was poor. There was only one locomotive, the little "San Gabriel," which would go out of commission every few days, so that traffic would be interrupted.[32] The first advertisement for the new railroad appeared in the *Star*, October 30, 1869. It stated that trains left Wilmington every day at 8 a.m. and 1 p.m., and Los Angeles at 10 a.m. and 4 p.m., except on steamer days when the trains would connect with the steamers; passenger fares: Los Angeles to Wilmington $1.50; Wilmington to the anchorage $1.

The last county bonds were transferred to the company on December 6, 1869, and, two weeks later, a committee of the common council, appointed to investigate the completion of the railroad, reported:

that they find it finished according to the report of the engineer with the exception of the furnishing of one of the two first class locomotives named in the contract, and the grading of a small portion of the road on Alameda Street.[33]

February 16, 1870, a committee composed of Woodworth, King, and Hellman reported to the directors that the contract had been fully complied with except for certain filling on Alameda Street, which was being completed as fast as possible. The board then formally voted to accept the railroad from the contractor. More than a month later, the common council "ordered that the Bonds for the 21st and the last mile of the Los Angeles and San Pedro Rail Road be issued according to law."[34]

In its first annual report to the California secretary of state, the Los Angeles & San Pedro R.R. Co. stated that up to December 31, 1869, a total of $406,693 had been expended. Total indebtedness as of this date was $317,793, distributed as follows:

First mortgage bonds	$300,000
H. B. Tichenor on expense account	15,014
P. Banning " " "	1,522
P. Banning and Co. " "	1,257
	$317,793

Receipts from October 26, 1869, to the end of the year were $23,350; $7,330 from passenger fares and $16,020 for transporting 3,395 tons of freight. Net profit for the two-month operating period was $6,865. In spite of this small profit, regular assessments of five per cent were made on the private stock to pay the interest on the first mortgage bonds. The company explained that all earnings were being applied toward the liquidation of the indebtedness.[35]

In January 1870, the company sold Banning and Alexander part of the depot tract on Commercial Street for use as an office. This lot was 36 x 76 feet, and the price paid was $298. The price seems a little low, considering that the original price paid for the entire lot (410 x 190) was $10,000.[36]

When Tichenor's final account was received by the directors on April 12, 1870, an argument started over whether the account should be paid. Several members of the board contended that the contractor had padded his account with extra mileage. The matter was referred to a committee, which had the road measured by the county surveyor; the result was almost identical with that submitted by Tichenor.[37]

In April 1870, there began a long controversy between the City of

Los Angeles and the railroad company. At the suggestion of the mayor, a special investigating committee was appointed by the common council on April twenty-first to "look into the affairs of the Company regarding the City's interest." One week later the common council,

> Resolved that the Board of Directors of the L.A. and S.P.R. Road Company be requested not to approve any more bills presented by the contractor while the present investigation ordered by the Common Council shall have been completed.[38]

On May 14, 1870, the special investigating committee made its report to the council, and it was ordered that the report be published in the *Star*. At its next meeting, however, this order was rescinded, and it was directed that 1,000 copies be printed in pamphlet form.[39]

At the next weekly meeting of the council, the city treasurer was instructed to demand the city's share of the profits of the railroad and to take the necessary steps to collect. The city attorney was ordered to file suit against the Los Angeles & San Pedro R.R. Co., and a special committee was appointed to secure the services of legal counsel. The committee reported the following week that it had secured the services of attorneys V. E. Howard and Col. Chipley for a fee of $1,500. The Los Angeles County supervisors were asked to join in the suit against the railroad, but the supervisors declined getting involved in the affair.[40]

While the suit was being fought out in the courts, it was also being fought in the Los Angeles newspapers. The *News* was the most consistent and violent in its attacks, while the *Star* usually defended the railroad. The *News* for June 29, 1870, complained that "Messrs. Banning and Tichenor" were influencing the people "through their organ, the Star." And, a few months later, the *News* said:

> The Star complains that the "News has tried very hard, for some time, to impeach" its "motives." We repel the slanderous assertion. The News has cheerfully given the Star credit for a desire to faithfully serve the ring, of which it is the recognized organ.[41]

In an editorial on June 15, 1870, the *News* complained that the railroad had bought all of the wharves; that the company had a monopoly of the lighterage at Wilmington; and that it was "impossible for a farmer to ship a bag of potatoes, or import a thousand feet of lumber, unless he submits to any charge for lighterage that the railroad company may impose." Another editorial acknowledged that the shippers had been saved $14,299, because the railroad had reduced freight rates below those charged by the ox teams. At the same time, it complained that the people had been robbed of $225,000.[42]

The *News* next attempted to prove that Tichenor, the subcontractor, "could not have expended one dollar in the construction of the road in which he has stock to the amount of $275,000, for which he paid nothing." Along this same line, the *News* further protested that "the contractors are in possession of the road, and receive all the [profits]. . . . The manager of it at present is the confidential clerk of Banning and Tichenor."[43]

Other newspapers in southern California also joined in the attack. The San Luis Obispo *Tribune* remarked that "Vanderbilt and Jim Fisk have been reproduced on a small scale in Southern California."[44] The San Diego *Union* said that it was the "worst kind of folly" to stop the railroad at Wilmington instead of continuing to deep water "at or near the Tomlinson wharf, at San Pedro."[45]

From the beginning, the Los Angeles *Star* defended the railroad, its main argument being that it was saving the people of Los Angeles thousands of dollars in reduced freight rates. To support their contention, the *Star* published this table on June 15, 1870:

SHIPMENTS, OCT. 26, 1869 to MAY 31, 1870

Oranges and Lemons: 13,441 boxes weighing 1,008,075 lbs. Before the railroad the charge was 37½¢ per 100 lbs.; railroad charges 20¢ per box. (Saving: $1,092.08)

Corn, Barley, Beans, Rye and Corn Meal: shipped 1,920 tons. Rate charged before the railroad was $6.50 per ton; railroad charges $2.50 per ton. (Saving: $7,678.76)

Wine and Brandy: shipped 1,054 pipes and 135 barrels (weighing 1,318,800 lbs.). Rate charged before the railroad was 37½¢ per 100 lbs.; rate charged by the railroad is $3.00 per ton. (Saving: $2,967.30)

Wool: shipped 4,505 bales weighing 1,380,535 lbs. Rate before the railroad was 37½¢ per 100 lbs.; the railroad charges $3.50 per ton. (Saving: $2,761.07)

TOTAL SAVED IN SEVEN MONTHS: $14,299.21

In a letter to the supervisors, June 6, 1870, E. E. Hewitt, superintendent of the railroad, stated that between October 26, 1869, and April 30, 1870, the railroad had carried 17,670 tons of assorted freight for which they had been paid $61,847.

> At the rate charged by the forwarding houses prior to the completion of the road, transportation of the above number of tons would amount to $171,988;

showing the amount saved to be for six months, $110,140.95; or, $220,281.90 per annum.[46]

Another letter by Superintendent Hewitt to the editor of the *Star* said that the following rates were charged before the railroad was built: merchandise $11.60 per ton; lumber $12.50 per thousand; wine, corn, and miscellaneous produce $7.50 per ton; wool and oranges $8 per ton. He then compared these rates with those currently charged by the railway and reached the conclusion that the shippers had been saved $133,843 during 1870.[47]

According to instructions from the mayor and common council, the city attorney of Los Angeles filed suit against the railroad May 31, 1870, in an attempt to void the city bonds. This suit charged:

(1) That on the date of approval of the railroad act by the legislature there was no such corporation in existence, but that the company was formed February 12, 1868.

(2) That the law required that a general assessment of 5% be made on all stock, but that no assessment of private stock was made before the city bonds were issued.

(3) That 10% first mortgage bonds worth $300,000 were paid to Banning and Tichenor at the rate of eighty-five cents on the dollar.

(4) That on June 13, 1868, the directors of the railroad let a contract to Peter Donahue, who was to build the road at $19,000 per mile, but on July 13, 1868, this contract was rescinded and one awarded to Banning for $469,000, or about $23,000 per mile.

(5) That Wilmington was made the terminus of the railroad contrary to the act of the legislature, which said that it should be the "Bay of San Pedro." This was done so that Banning could "dispose of his property to the Rail Road Company at an extravagant price."[48]

(6) That about June 1868, all of the private stock except fifty shares was transferred to Banning who, on September 2, 1868, transferred 2,737 shares to Tichenor. The city and county bonds were also given over to Banning and Tichenor.

(7) That property at Wilmington was purchased from Banning for $70,000. This property was not needed by the railroad; if it had been needed, the price was double its real value.[49]

The city suffered a preliminary defeat on July 2, 1870, when Judge Morrison denied "the prayer of the complaint, asking the aid of writ of

Injunction and the appointment of a Receiver. . . . as no sufficient legal cause exists."[50]

Six months after the suit was filed, the first attempt was made to drop the entire matter. It came up at a regular session of the common council which was held Thursday evening, December 1, 1870:

> Considerable preliminary caucusing took place outside. From the fluttering and from the hasty putting of heads together . . . the looker on drew the inference that a "job" had been "put up." . . .
>
> The session opened with the reading of a paper signed by Gen. Banning, in which he proposes . . . to purchase the city stock [for] . . . $1, and also build . . . a railroad . . . southeast four miles, on the east side of the Los Angeles river . . . [and] to bridge the Los Angeles river; work to be completed within two years. . . . and asked that the proposition be submitted to the people.[51]

A motion was then made that the suit against the railroad be dismissed; this was passed by a vote of five to two.

On the following day, the city attorney filed a motion to dismiss the suit, "believing that I have *no discretion* . . . other than to obey the resolution [of the common council]." That night the city attorney reported to the council that he had filed a motion to dismiss, but it had been opposed by the other counsel in the case (Howard and Chipley). No action was taken by the court at this time, but on December fifth the case was dismissed.[52]

This was not the end of the affair. In January 1871, a new common council was chosen, and most of the members of the old council were not re-elected. Colonel Chipley appeared before the new council and complained that the suit against the railroad had "been withdrawn by the former Council against the protest of himself and Gen'l Howard. . . . Manipulations with the Old Council had procured the dismissal of the suit."

The official *Records* do not go into more detail, but the *News* reported that:

> Mr. Chipley had come under the impression that he was meeting a body of dignified gentlemen.
>
> Mr. Fall said that Col. C. was false in his assertions and branded him as a dirty cur.
>
> Mr. Chipley left the body stating that he had expected to have courtesy when he came, and he never would enter it again.[53]

The new council appointed another railroad committee, and, at the February sixteenth meeting, this committee reported "that they had the same old tale, the money had to be paid up and the City could not be represented until next May, unless Mr. King would resign."[54]

The annual county tax assessment was made in August 1870, and showed the following property owned by the railroad:

Lot in city, and depot bldgs.	$ 10,000
Lot and office, two warehouses and other improvements in Wilmington	12,000
Twenty-one miles of railroad	70,000
Two steamboats – "Los Angeles" and "Cricket"	12,000
Nine lighters	3,600
One surf boat, two yawls, and two skiffs	450
Two locomotives	7,000
Two passenger, one smoking, and one express car	3,000
Four covered freight cars	1,200
Twelve flat cars	1,800
Two hand cars	100
Office furniture	350
Money	200
One horse and buggy	140
	$122,640[55]

It was customary for the Los Angeles newspapers to report all goods received at the depot for shipment, and these reports give an excellent picture of Los Angeles industry during the 1870's. On May 13, 1871, the *News* made the following report:

> Received yesterday two car loads of freight and for shipment the following: 2 bundles sheepskins, 461 sacks corn, 9 boxes lemons, 43 bales wool, 1 roll leather, 11 puncheons wine, 1 box soda, 1 box eggs, 5 sacks wool. Ten cars were loaded for Wilmington and two teams each for San Bernardino and Cerro Gordo.

The following day, this same paper said that five freight cars of wool, eggs, corn, asphalt, hides, sheep skins, wine, and corn meal had left Los Angeles for the harbor. A few days later there was the usual shipment of wool, wine, and corn, but, in addition, 20 cases of honey, 10 boxes of almonds, and 3 barrels of beer.[56]

Hauling and lighterage of freight was responsible for most of the profits made by the railroad. The company would have made a profit if it had not carried a single passenger, as can be seen from the following report, submitted to the California secretary of state in February 1871:

Received:	
Passengers	$ 31,771.60
Freight (including mail and express)	90,400.86
Lighterage	33,035.02
	$155,207.48
Expenses	$133,583.78
Profits	$ 41,623.70[57]

The new council was still anxious for a fight with the railway. At the regular meeting of the common council which was held on Thursday evening, May 11, 1871, the chairman of the railroad committee said that something should be done about Alameda Street; the railroad was digging holes in the street to make embankment for its tracks. Another member of the committee said that he had talked to Tichenor and Coronel, and that the latter was willing to move back to a line with the Wolfskill fence, provided he was furnished lumber for a new fence. The president of the council said that the railroad company refused to furnish the lumber. "Mr. Dockweiler said that the company had dug out the street to obtain dirt to make the road bed," and that something should be done about it. After considerable argument, the matter was "laid over until the next meeting."[58]

The company's fiscal year ended April thirtieth, and at that time an annual report was published and a new board of directors elected. This report stated:

> During the year, assessments have from time to time been levied on the private stock, to pay the outstanding and current interest on the mortgage bonds. This interest . . . is fully paid, and the technical liability to foreclosure . . . no longer exists. . . .
>
> All available net earnings have been constantly applied to reduce the account of Mr. Tichenor . . . and the payment of interest thereon; and his balance has been reduced from $123,083.55 to $98,590.21, besides paying the accruing interest.[59]

Total assets of the railroad were given as $809,484,[60] while the total indebtedness was $401,090 (including $300,000 in 10% first mortgage bonds and $98,590 due Tichenor. The balance is interest due on the bonds.). Receipts for the year were $156,302 and expenses $109,920. This would give the company a net profit of $46,382 on a gross of $156,302, or about 30%.

Receipts for the year were distributed as follows:

Passengers	$34,442.60
Up freight	63,070.40
Down freight	25,600.38
Up lighterage	24,482.00
Down lighterage	8,211.81
Mail (from Jan. 1)	495.00

There were three deeds recorded by the railroad during 1871. The first of these, recorded June 24, 1871, was supposedly to correct "mistakes" made in the two original deeds, which transferred the Wilmington property from Banning to the railroad. The property descriptions are hard to compare, but apparently the purpose of the deed was to give the "John Temple lot" (80 x 100 ft.), inside the depot tract, to Banning. Banning was also given the right to remove the stables and corral anytime within three years.[61]

By another deed, recorded August 2, 1871, Manuel Dominguez sold the railroad a right-of-way, from the depot tract at Wilmington to the high-water line at the southeast end of Rattlesnake Island, for one dollar. The right-of-way was never used, but the intention of the railroad was to build a wharf at the end of the island and eventually do away with the lighters.[62]

In September 1871 Banning deeded the right-of-way, which he had acquired from Manuel Dominguez in 1869 for $3.75 and the payment of current taxes, to the Los Angeles & San Pedro R.R. for $1. The deed stipulated that the right-of-way could "not be fenced nor habitations erected thereon except for Railroad Company purposes, nor shall the said Railroad Company . . . prevent the crossing of said Railroad by Stock."[63]

During 1870 and 1871, the newspapers were full of reports that the railroad would be extended from Compton to Anaheim, and from there through San Bernardino to Arizona or Utah. At a meeting of the common council held December 3, 1870, extension of the railway to San Bernardino was discussed, and a committee appointed to confer with the board of supervisors and Phineas Banning.[64]

To promote the extension of the railroad, a meeting was held at Anaheim November 18, 1871. In reporting this meeting, the *News* said that for several weeks the "Railroad Ring has been busily engaged in arranging for a meeting which should have the appearance of giving popular approval to a scheme to plunder Los Angeles county." Finally, the railroad had hit upon the convention scheme, and "a few unsuspecting [delegates] fell into the trap." The meeting was called to order by "oleoginous" Banning; General Stoneman was chosen chairman and E. E. Hewitt, superintendent of the railroad, was elected secretary. While General Stoneman was chairman, it was apparent that the real power behind the throne was Banning; whenever Banning left the room the meeting was always recessed until he returned.[65]

After a few minutes' deliberation, the committee on resolutions returned with a resolution asking the next session of the California legislature to authorize a vote on the following propositions: Donation of the present city and county bonds to the railroad, on condition that the railroad be extended to deep water or a channel dredged. Donation of an issue of eight per cent bonds at the rate of $5,000 per mile for extension of the railroad to Anaheim, and for financing another line through El Monte, Pomona and San Bernardino to the Owens River.

The resolution was then passed, but the actual vote is not recorded. It was at this point in the meeting that William R. Olden and the Anaheim delegation walked out, saying that the meeting was a "farce" and a "fraud" and that the convention had been "packed." The Anaheim delegation was followed from the hall by the delegates from Los Nietos, Santa Ana, and San Joaquin, and the meeting adjourned without taking up further business.[66]

An editorial in the same issue of the *News* said that in another part of the paper it was publishing a full report of the railroad meeting at Anaheim, but that a brief account

> should, however, be enough to rouse the people of this county to a realization of the danger that awaits them, unless they arise in their might, and throttle those, who, having plundered them in the past, have become emboldened, and unhesitatingly claim the right to enrich themselves at the public expense.

For the next six weeks, nearly every issue of the Los Angeles *News* had an editorial attacking the "railroad ring." On November 25, 1871, this paper published a long letter from William R. Olden of Anaheim, flaying Banning as a "mighty Boss" and claiming that he was responsible for the whole thing. On November twenty-eighth the *News* happily reported that the Anaheim *Gazette* had joined the fight against the "mighty Railroad Ring."

The *News* also complained about the high freight charges: $6 per ton for hauling lumber from Wilmington to Los Angeles, a distance of not more than twenty-eight miles. Passenger fares from Los Angeles to the anchorage were $2.50; before the coming of the railroad it had been possible to take a stage from Los Angeles to San Pedro for only $1. Property values in Los Angeles County had increased from nearly $4,000,000 in 1868 to almost $7,000,000 in 1870, the *News* admitted, but it denied that the railroad had had anything to do with this. The real reason, said the *News*, was the increased appraisal of vacant land, which had previously been appraised at only twenty cents an acre.[67]

New passenger and freight rates were published by the railway in July 1871. Passenger fares remained about the same: Los Angeles to Wilmington $1, Los Angeles to the anchorage $2.50, Wilmington to the anchorage $1.50, Los Angeles to Florence 25¢, Compton 50¢, Dominguez and Cerritos 75¢. Sunday excursions to Wilmington were reduced to $1 for the round trip. Some freight rates were decreased slightly: dry goods from $6 per ton by weight to $4 per ton by measure, and lumber from $7 to $6 per thousand.[68]

For several years the Southern Pacific R.R. Co. had been building south from the San Francisco Bay area toward southern California, but there were disturbing rumors that the railroad would turn east before reaching Los Angeles. It was suggested that perhaps a spur line would later be built into Los Angeles. All of this talk caused gloom in Los Angeles, which had high hopes of becoming the southern terminus of a transcontinental railway.

In July 1872, a meeting was held at the courthouse to consider a proposition made by the Southern Pacific that the County of Los Angeles vote a subsidy to the railroad with the assurance that the main line would then be extended to Los Angeles. According to the *Star*,

> This subsidy shall be an absolute donation, and the subsidy is understood to be five per cent. on the assessed value of the real and personal property in the County of Los Angeles for the year 1872 which is supposed to be $15,000,000, less the bonds which have been already given to the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad Co., and the stock in which road held by the county will also be donated to the Southern Pacific Company.[69]

A committee of three was appointed to go to San Francisco to consult with the officials of the Southern Pacific, and the meeting adjourned without taking any other action.

Another railroad meeting was held on Monday, July 22, 1872, at which the following resolution was unanimously voted:

Resolved, That the Chairman of this Committee be authorized to enter into stipulations with the agent of the Railroad Company and take such action with the Board of Supervisors and the Common Council as will cause the said Supervisors and Council to prepare an ordinance to be submitted to a vote of the people at the next annual election.[70]

Public opinion was apparently quite favorable to this plan by the Southern Pacific. A letter published in the *Star* said that, for $375,000 in 7% twenty-year bonds and stock worth $150,000, the county would receive 50 miles of railroad to Los Angeles and another 30 miles to Anaheim. Figuring that it cost $50,000 per mile to build a railroad, the total value would be $4,000,000.` An editorial in this same newspaper, two months later, stated that the taxable property of the county would be increased by $2,000,000, besides all of the other benefits of the railroad.[71]

Opposition was centered chiefly in Anaheim, where the people favored a direct connection with the harbor rather than a branch line from Los Angeles. They reasoned that the distance from Anaheim to Wilmington by way of Los Angeles would be nearly fifty miles, while the distance could be cut to only twenty-nine miles by building from Anaheim directly to the nearest point on the Los Angeles & San Pedro R.R.[72]

The Texas & Pacific R.R. also submitted a proposition to the people of Los Angeles, but it had little chance of being accepted because it had graded only a few miles of roadbed near San Diego and had several hundred miles of track to lay between El Paso and San Diego. The Texas & Pacific proposed to extend its lines from San Diego to Los Angeles, or to build directly through San Gorgonio Pass to Los Angeles. In either case it asked five per cent of the assessed valuation and nothing more.[73]

Finally, the board of supervisors decided to submit the railroad propositions to the voters at the next general election to be held November 5, 1872. The common council went along with the supervisors by voting to donate the stock held by the city in the Los Angeles & San Pedro R.R. in accordance with the election to be held in November; the vote was unanimous.[74]

There was opposition to the scheme from areas which had benefited least from the Los Angeles & San Pedro R.R. This opposition was centered chiefly in the southeastern part of the county which later broke away from Los Angeles and formed the new county of Orange. Anaheim, Santa Ana, and San Juan Capistrano voted against the Southern Pacific, but the large favorable vote in Wilmington and Los Angeles was the deciding factor. The final result showed 1,896 *for* the Southern

Pacific and 724 *against;* 99 voted *for* the Texas & Pacific, and 29 voted *against* it; 26 people showed their distrust of all railroads by casting their vote in favor of no railroad at all.[75]

Approval of the Southern Pacific's plan to build into Los Angeles, and the transfer of 2,250 shares of city and county stock, made sale of the Los Angeles & San Pedro R.R. to its competitor a virtual certainty. Nobody was surprised when it was announced:

> The Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad has been transferred to the ... Southern Pacific. ... The transfer was made in San Francisco on the 23d instant by H. B. Tichenor, who held the controlling share of the stock of the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad.[76]

By this deal, the Southern Pacific secured control of a money-making railroad with an assessed valuation of a quarter of a million dollars, and a real value of three times that much. But of still more importance, it gave the Southern Pacific a monopoly of port facilities at Wilmington, which the railroad was able to retain until the completion of the Los Angeles Terminal Railroad twenty years later.[77]

NOTES

1. Richard H. Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York, 1936), pp. 98, 100.

2. Los Angeles *Southern News,* Jan. 30, 1861. Southern California was having quite a mining boom at this time. Other issues of the *Southern News* for 1861 mention mining in Owens Valley, Coso, Holcomb Valley, Bear Valley, Potosi, and along the San Gabriel and Colorado rivers.

3. California Assembly, *Journal of the Twelfth Session* (Sacramento, 1861), pp. 489, 779; California Senate, *Journal of the Twelfth Session* (Sacramento, 1861), p. 853.

4. California Assembly, *Journal* (1863), pp. 479, 492-93, 523; California Senate, *Journal* (1863), p. 590.

5. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, *Minutes,* III, 323-24.

6. California Senate, *Journal* (1866), p. 216.

7. California Assembly, *Journal* (1867), p. 232; California Senate, *Journal* (1867), pp. 141, 179.

8. Los Angeles *News,* Feb. 14, 1868.

9. James H. Lander, "Report of the Present Condition of the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad Company," supplement to the Los Angeles *Star,* July 3, 1870. Hereinafter cited as Lander, "Report."

This report was written by Lander at the request of the board of directors of the railroad. "As far as possible, I have drawn my information from the books and files of the Company. . . . in no instance trusting for particulars to the uncorroborated recollection of any one individual."

10. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, *Minutes,* IV, 34-38; Los Angeles Common Council, *Records,* VI, 207-208.

11. Los Angeles *News,* March 27, 1868.

12. J. M. Guinn, "The Pioneer Railroads of Southern California," Historical Society of Southern California, *Annual Publications,* VIII (1909-1911), 189.

13. Los Angeles Common Council, *Records,* VI, 218; Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, *Minutes,* IV, 44-45.

14. Lander, "Report."

15. Los Angeles County Recorder, *Deeds,* X, 495-98.

16. Lander, "Report."

17. *Ibid.* The present fare to Wilmington on the Pacific Electric is 58¢.

18. Los Angeles *News,* Sept. 22, 1868; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1889-1891), VII, 594; Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California* (New York, 1916), pp. 393-94.

19. Lander, "Report." The reason why Banning subcontracted to Tichenor was that "Mr. Banning was in very straightened circumstances. His affairs in many ways had turned out badly." Among other things, he had purchased a mine in Sonora which was "importunate." "Phineas Banning" (unpublished manuscript, Bancroft Library), p. 8.

20. Lander, "Report." Downey broke with the railroad over this issue and went over to the side of the anti-railroad faction. In a "Card" published in the *News,* April 17, 1870, he said, among other things, that Ivers' bid was "highly advantageous" and should have been accepted and that the route Ivers suggested (the "Lake route") would have been only 18 miles long instead of 21.

21. Lander, "Report"; Los Angeles Common Council, *Records,* VI, 308.

22. Los Angeles County Recorder, *Deeds,* XI, 134-35; XII, 93-94; XIII, 163-64, 238-44. March 3, 1869, Banning bought from Benjamin D. Wilson, for the sum of $35,000, "all land lying in Wilmington formerly New San Pedro. . . . and to that certain tract of land . . . known as 'Rancho de San Pascual.' " *Ibid.,* XII, 237.

23. *Ibid.,* XIII, 615-16; XIV, 301-302.

24. Lander, "Report"; Los Angeles County Recorder, *Deeds,* XII, 562, 565-66.

25. Lander, "Report."

26. Newmark, *op. cit.,* pp. 400-401.

27. Los Angeles Common Council, *Records,* VI, 288-89, 368, 306-307; Newmark, *op. cit.,* p. 393.

28. Los Angeles Common Council, *Records,* VI, 368.

29. *Ibid.,* VII, 14.

30. Newmark, *op. cit.,* p. 393. The chief engineer of the railroad resigned in October 1869, but this apparently had nothing to do with the Alameda Street

controversy. The *Records* of the council do not contain any other references to this matter, and the whole thing was apparently soon forgotten and work again resumed.

31. Los Angeles *Star*, Oct. 30, 1869.

32. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

33. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, *Minutes*, IV, 268; Los Angeles Common Council, *Records*, VII, 48.

34. Los Angeles Common Council, *Records*, VII, 88; Lander, "Report."

35. Lander, "Report."

36. Los Angeles County Recorder, *Deeds*, XIV, 746-47. Banning and Alexander sold this same lot back to the railroad two years later for $2,300. The grantors reserved the right to remove the one-story frame building which they had been using as an office. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 68-69. Newmark recalls that real estate boomed with the completion of the depot. One lot at the corner of First and Spring streets (180 x 120) he remembers having sold for $1,200, a phenomenal price for that time. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

37. Lander, "Report."

38. Los Angeles Common Council, *Records*, VII, 100.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 109. There are apparently no copies of this pamphlet extant, but it was discussed at great length in the newspapers. The suit, which was later filed by the city, probably contained about the same accusations.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 115; IV, 341.

41. Los Angeles *News*, Dec. 8, 1871.

42. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1870. The $225,000 refers to stock held by the city and county.

43. *Ibid.*, June 29 and July 6, 1870.

44. Not dated; quoted in *ibid.*, July 27, 1870.

45. Bancroft Scraps; California Railroads (collection of newspaper clippings, Bancroft library), I, 147-48.

46. Printed in the Los Angeles *Star*, June 10, 1870.

47. E. E. Hewitt, "letter," Los Angeles *Star*, Feb. 23, 1871. It is difficult to check on the accuracy of these figures, but in 1860 Banning was advertising that he would carry lumber from Los Angeles to San Pedro for $8 per thousand feet. Los Angeles *Southern News*, July 25, 1860.

48. The actual wording of the act is "between the City of Los Angeles and the Bay of San Pedro." *Statutes of California, Passed at the Seventeenth Session of the Legislature, 1867-8* (Sacramento, 1868), p. 14.

49. Los Angeles County District Court, case no. 1648, *The Mayor and Common Council of the City of Los Angeles vs. the Los Angeles and San Pedro Rail Road Co.*

50. Los Angeles *Star*, July 2, 1870.

51. Los Angeles *News*, Dec. 2, 1872.

52. Los Angeles County District Court, case no. 1648, *City of Los Angeles vs. Los Angeles and San Pedro Rail Road Co.;* Los Angeles *News,* Dec. 3, 1870.

53. Los Angeles Common Council, *Records,* VII, 260; Los Angeles *News,* Feb. 10, 1871. Col. Chipley was paid $500 "in full" for his part in the suit, but there is no record of how much Howard received. Los Angeles *Star,* July 15, 1870.

54. The money which "had to be paid up" was the 5% stock assessment. King had been president of the previous council, but had not been re-elected; he was still a director of the railroad, representing the city, and would hold this office until the next annual stockholders' meeting.

Aug. 21, 1870, Howard filed another suit against the railroad, almost identical to the suit previously filed by the city. This suit never came to trial. Los Angeles County District Court, case no. 1856, *V. E. Howard vs. the Los Angeles and San Pedro Rail Road Co., et al.*

55. Los Angeles *News,* Aug. 24, 1870. The *News* complained that the assessment was too low.

56. Los Angeles *News,* May 18, 1871.

57. Los Angeles *Star,* Feb. 26, 1871. This report was for the year 1870. As usual, the *News* was indignant about the excessive profits. An editorial on Feb. 18 said that the profits for the past year were $50,000, and wanted to know why stock dividends were not paid. The reason given by the railroad was that dividends could not be paid until the debt was liquidated, but, according to the editor of the *News,* the real reason was that Banning refused to pay stock assessments as the county and city had done.

58. Los Angeles Common Council, *Records,* VII, 330; Los Angeles *News,* May 12, 1871. This matter was apparently settled before the next meeting of the council, because there is no further mention of it in the *Records.*

59. This annual report was printed in full by the *News,* May 27, 1871.

60. Compare this figure with an assessed valuation of $122,640.

61. Los Angeles County Recorder, *Deeds,* XVII, 317-19.

62. *Ibid.,* 474-77.

63. *Ibid.,* XVIII, 63-65.

64. Los Angeles *News,* Dec. 3, 1870.

65. Los Angeles *News,* Nov. 21, 1871. These attacks apparently did Banning little personal harm; the following July, he was grand marshal of the Independence Day parade. Los Angeles *Star,* July 4, 1872.

66. Los Angeles *News,* Nov. 21, 1871.

67. Los Angeles *News,* Oct. 11 and Dec. 14, 1871. All of this criticism of the railroad raises the question of whether there really were extensive graft and sharp dealing. There were some mistakes made, but apparently no willful intent to defraud; and the profits of the railroad were never excessive, compared with similar enterprises of that period.

Lander, in the introduction to his "Report," states that the company books were in terrible shape. "I have been entirely misled as to various transactions by the entries made by Mr. Smith, not with intention to mislead, but from his total ignorance as an accountant. . . . A credit of eleven hundred and sixty-nine dollars and thirty cents to Gen Banning requires explanation. He knows nothing of it."

68. Advertisement in the Los Angeles *Star*, July 1, 1872.

69. Los Angeles *Star*, July 8, 1872. The official copy of the Southern Pacific proposition may be found in the *Minutes* of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, V, 248-57.

70. Los Angeles *Star*, July 23, 1872.

71. *Ibid.*, July 31 and Oct. 14, 1872.

72. *Ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1872.

73. *Ibid.*, Sept. 7 and Oct. 31, 1872. The Texas & Pacific R.R. intended to build west from Texas through Yuma to San Diego; but in 1872 the tracks of this railroad had not even reached the borders of New Mexico.

74. *Ibid.*, Aug. 6 and Sept. 13, 1872.

75. Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, *Minutes*, V, 300.

76. Los Angeles *Star*, April 26, 1873. Tichenor held 2,737 shares of stock, which had been transferred to him by Banning.

77. Exact earnings are not available, but the Los Angeles *Star*, May 13, 1873, said: "We perceive by a letter in the Call . . . [that] the road has not paid more than an average of 10 per cent. per annum; 1871, it was 12 per cent; 1872 8 per cent; for so far, the present year, it will not go beyond 6 per cent. per annum. . . . the books show that Mr. Tichenor paid out of his pocket, gold coin to the amount of over $400,000."

An Ill-Starred Voyage

The *S. S. Golden Gate,* January 1854

By HELEN ROCCA GOSS

ON THE NIGHT of January 1, 1854, the steamer *Golden Gate,* prize vessel of the Pacific Mail S. S. Co., left Panama on what was expected to be a routine voyage to San Francisco. During the succeeding nineteen days, however, the vessel suffered a series of mishaps. Since there are important differences between the contemporary accounts of what took place and the story told at a much later date by my father, Andrew Rocca, one of the passengers, the present study was undertaken to find out, if possible, what actually happened.

At the time of the voyage, Andrew Rocca was an eighteen-year-old Italian boy on his way to the California gold fields. After the long sea voyage from Europe to New York and then to Aspinwall (Colón), he had crossed the Isthmus, on foot for a large part of the distance, and reached Panama just in time to board the *Golden Gate* on New Year's Day.

The *Golden Gate,* a wooden, 2,000-ton side-wheeler with two oscillating engines, was put into service on the Pacific in the autumn of 1851. She was nearly 270 feet in length, had a beam of 40 feet, a depth of 27 feet, and three full decks, with orlop decks both fore and aft. Built in 1850 in New York as the first steamer constructed especially for the Panama-San Francisco run, she could accommodate about 850 passengers without undue crowding, by the standards of that era.[2] From the moment she arrived on the Pacific coast, the San Francisco newspapers began printing glowing accounts of this "magnificent steamer," which they later frequently referred to as "the steam clipper." And, like the press, San Franciscans also had the deepest admiration for "the *Gate,*" as she was affectionately called, since she seemed to have everything necessary, including her name, to endear her to them.

When the *Golden Gate* first reached California, the San Francisco *Herald* of November 20, 1851, praised her "immense proportions," her "elegant accommodations," and her "noble promenade deck." As the months passed, the *Alta California* became an even more ardent supporter of the ship and frequently published accounts of her triumphs. On January 12, 1853, for example, in describing the arrival of the *Gate* at her customary berth at Long Wharf, the *Alta* said: "She came into dock like some dashing belle into a ball-room, fresh from the boudoir." And on April sixteenth of that year, the *Alta's* paragraph, reporting a new speed record set by the steamer, read in part:

> The splendid performance of this magnificent steamer, on her trip from here to Panama and back, is the subject of mingled wonder and admiration to her many friends and patrons. She made the passage hence to Panama in 11 days and 14 hours time from port to port, and deducting for stoppages, in 10 days and 20 hours running time, a feat unparalleled in the history of steam upon the Pacific.[3]

According to the *Alta California* of July 19, 1853, the *Golden Gate* was expected to be in dry dock at Benecia for about two months, undergoing extensive repairs. "This vessel," the article noted, "has been running *sans* intermission for two years, and since her arrival in the Pacific, has been carrying the mails and passengers between San Francisco and Panama. During the time, she has cleared about $800,000 for the Company. She has been under the command of Captain Patterson from the moment she was run off the stocks to the present time, and he has made her the most popular . . . vessel on the Pacific."[4] Repairs to the steamer were apparently completed, since she resumed her regular schedule some time in the early autumn of 1853.

The *Golden Gate* must have acquired a new skipper at about the time she was returned to service, since there is no further mention of her old commander, Capt. C. P. Patterson, and when she left Panama on January 1, 1854, she was under command of Capt. J. B. G. Isham.[5] According to his statement, there were 750 passengers on the ship, but the San Francisco *Herald* of January 24, 1854, said there were between 800 and 900 passengers on the *Golden Gate*, while Bishop Kip stated that there were "nearly one thousand persons on board"—presumably passengers and crew combined.[6] The first few days of the voyage were without incident. On the morning of January sixth, she put in at Acapulco, to take aboard 200 tons of coal for fuel and to add to the supplies of water and provisions. She left Acapulco that same night and continued on her way. Once again, everything proceeded according to schedule. Everything, in fact, was going so well that Bishop Kip wrote in his journal:

"We have, one day, made as much as three hundred and five miles in twenty-four hours, and our Captain is in high spirits, expecting to make the shortest run ever known. He looks forward to our breakfasting in San Francisco, next Saturday morning."[7] But four days later, on the evening of January tenth, when the *Golden Gate* was 500 miles from San Diego, her engines suddenly stopped.

As the passengers milled about and asked each other what was wrong, the chief engineer announced that the vessel's center shaft was broken. Upon further examination, it was found that the shaft was broken through the whole length of the journal. This necessitated cutting off a portion of the shaft to allow the port engine to function—an operation which required drilling through a body of iron some twenty inches in diameter. While the work was being done, the ship was necessarily listed so far to one side that most of the passengers were convinced she was in immediate danger of capsizing.[8] She did not, however, and Captain Isham himself later reported that, after drifting about under sail until the fourteenth, they were "able to steam with one engine and one wheel." He had, in the meanwhile, taken steps to conserve the dwindling supplies of water and food, and he said later that every one had been "on an allowance for six days" before reaching San Diego.

The memory of the intense thirst he had experienced during the rest of the voyage to San Diego lived on in Andrew Rocca's mind. Even fifty or sixty years after the event he would go to a pool in the mountain stream near our home, take a dipperfull of the pure, cool water, linger over it several minutes and then say: "How good that is, and how I wished for such water on the *Golden Gate!*" At that late date, too, he still remembered the kindness of an older man during the voyage. Andrew Rocca was then very small for his age, and because of this fact and the crowding on the vessel, he had been unable to get near the water-rationing station for a long time. One night when he was in acute misery from thirst and the tropical heat, he fell into a fitful sleep. Some one aroused him by whispering his name and then pressed a cup of water into his hands. Under cover of darkness the man had taken the risk of stealthily drawing water from the barrel, not for himself, but for his young friend.[9] In later life Andrew Rocca always showed great distress, too, over newspaper accounts of anyone who had suffered or died from thirst. "There is no suffering like it," he often said.

There are disadvantages in "steaming with but one engine and one wheel," to quote from the passengers' card. Years later Andrew Rocca used to describe, with appropriate gestures, the shattering vibrations, the sudden lurches forward, and the crab-like side-scuttling with which the vessel alarmed the passengers from time to time. Nevertheless, the once proud steamer did continue to limp along, and between midnight and 1:00 A. M. on the eighteenth she pulled into San Diego harbor, having covered in a little over four days the distance of 500 miles from the scene of the accident.

At 3:00 P.M. on the same day, after delivering and receiving the mails and taking aboard some fresh provisions, which, according to Bishop Kip, consisted largely of "about fifteen miserable bullocks," slaughtered on the beach,[10] the *Golden Gate* proceeded on her way. Although her passengers anticipated no difficulties in reaching San Francisco other than those caused by the strange antics of the crippled, unwieldy craft, fate still had other trials in store for them. As the steamer was attempting to find the channel in leaving San Diego harbor, because of "her unwieldiness and . . . want of power, [she] struck her stem on the shoals contiguous."[11] In his description of the accident, Captain Isham wrote in part:

> In leaving San Diego, I had got outside and near to Point Toma [*sic – i.e.*, Point Loma]; coming down broadside to, I gave the engine a back turn to get room to swing around, and when I rang the bell to go ahead, it being so badly balanced it could not be got over the centre, . . . the result was that the current sheared the ship on to the edge of the bank, which I did not consider of any consequence, notwithstanding I had but one engine and it worked heavy. The ship then swung around and brought up alongside the bank fore and aft.

The steamer *Goliah* was just leaving port, and the *Golden Gate* signaled to her.[12] Captain Isham continued as follows:

> She came alongside and took my hawsers; by the time she got hold of me the tide had fallen eight inches. She parted both hawsers, and I then saw no chance of getting off until the next high tide. I ran my hawsers again and the *Goliah* came to anchor to be ready when the tide made. By this time it was 5 P.M. and perfectly smooth. The tide commenced to flow at 6 o'clock, at which time a gale from the southeast burst upon us.

At 9:00 o'clock that night the storm had become so violent that the *Goliah* was compelled for her own safety to put back to port and to "leave the *Gate* and all on board to the fury of the gale and the mercy of an all-wise Providence," as one newspaper account later put it.[13] But the frightened passengers, drenched to the skin and huddled together on the straining battered ship with the sea breaking heavily over and around them, could hardly be expected to be as philosophical when they saw the *Goliah* pull away from them.

All through the night the storm roared on, and the ship rolled so violently that her wrought-iron wheels were "literally bent up."[14] According to Bishop Kip:

> ... every few moments the sea would raise the immense mass and throw it still farther among the breakers, where it would come down with a crash.... Every time, too, that she thus struck on her side, there would be a wreck of everything breakable, the very noise of which added to the confusion and fear. Even the dining tables and settees, which were clamped down with strong iron fastenings, were torn up and hurled to the other end of the saloon.[15]

In the early morning hours the wind subsided enough so that the *Goliah* could try again to assist the *Golden Gate*. It was still much too rough to accomplish anything, however, and Captain Isham reported that the day was spent "in getting the water out of the ship, which was over the furnaces." From 8:00 A. M. to 7:00 P. M., bail gangs and pumps worked steadily to clear the furnaces. Steam was then raised and the engines started, but this strategy succeeded only in keeping the vessel in position. The second night was somewhat calmer, and at 4:00 A. M. on January twentieth, the steamers *Goliah*, *Isthmus*, and *Southerner* were able to approach and commence landing the passengers.

Thus, the period of more than thirty-six hours of peril finally came to an end without the loss of life. In summarizing that interval, the San Francisco *Herald* of January 25, 1854, said:

> Thirty-six hours elapsed from the time the *Gate* struck until the passengers were taken off, during which time,—including two nights—the gale raged with great fury, and the surf dashed fiercely against the side of the ship, carrying away her guards and straining her timbers at every shock. Almost any other boat on the Pacific would have been dashed to pieces by the violence of the sea and all on board lost, but the staunchness of the *Gate* resisted the fierce onslaught of the waves, and under Providence, was the means of saving the many lives within her.

In Andrew Rocca's account of the incident he said that, in trying to dislodge the ship from the reef, they first used a three-inch rope, which "snapped just like a thread." Then they tried a rope five inches in diameter. When it was pulled taut, it made a straining sound, then parted as the other one had. The experience outside San Diego harbor left him with a life-long distaste for ocean travel — a major reason why he never returned to his native land for a visit. He used to say that whenever he had a nightmarish dream it was always associated with some sea disaster, during which he was vainly trying to save a member of his family from drowning. Newspaper accounts of sea disasters, however, such as those of the *Titanic* and the *Lusitania*, he would read with the greatest absorption.

After helping to land the passengers, the *Goliah* took the mails from the *Golden Gate* and some 200 of her passengers (including Andrew Rocca) on to San Francisco, arriving on the twenty-third. In the meanwhile, the citizens of San Francisco had been waiting in what the newspapers described as a state of "intense anxiety" for news of their "noble steamer."[16] For some time past, the city had had a system of keeping the populace informed of the arrival of steamers. As soon as an incoming vessel was sighted from The Heads, the news was relayed to Telegraph Hill by a semaphore and then announced to the whole city by a signaling gun. Consequently, if a ship failed to arrive on schedule, "considerable excitement and speculation" would result.[17] On this particular occasion, "a sound most welcome to their ears" at last reached them. Crowds came out to welcome what they supposed to be the long-overdue *Golden Gate;* it was not the *Gate,* however, but the *Goliah,* bringing news of the disaster to the other vessel and of the safety of her passengers. "People breathed free again," said the *Alta* of January 24, 1854, "when they learned so much." Nevertheless their anxiety continued over the fate of the *Golden Gate*, since they believed that "the loss of such a steamer would be a loss to California." Unusually large headlines, appearing over the story in the *Herald* the next morning, suggest the pitch of public excitement: "ARRIVAL OF THE GOLIAH. THE GOLDEN GATE ASHORE! PASSENGERS AND MAILS SAVED!! PERILOUS POSITION OF ALL ON BOARD."

On January 19, 1854, while the *Golden Gate* was tossing on a reef in San Diego Bay, a meeting of the passengers had taken place in the steamer's saloon. The meeting was presided over by Daniel D. Page of St. Louis as president, and S. S. Barr, R. W. Heath, R. W. Brown (captain of the British clipper ship *Hannah*), and C. C. Ordemann, a civil engineer, as vice presidents. H. L. Douglass and H. D. Cook acted as secretaries. The purpose of the meeting was to make a statement of the facts in the case and to pass some resolutions "as a matter of justice to the officers" in command of the vessel. The resolutions, passed unanimously by the meeting, absolved Captain Isham and his officers. Captain

Isham's conduct "under the unavoidable accidents which have occurred during this voyage," said the first resolution, "has commended him to our esteem and admiration; and . . . we tender him our warmest thanks for the care he has evidenced for the safety of all on board, for his general courtesy, and still more for the rigid order and discipline he has maintained under circumstances where confusion and its incident danger might be expected." The "present hazardous position of this magnificent specimen of American naval architecture," said the second resolution, "should attach no blame to Captain Isham or any officer on board ship." It had been one of those circumstances "which no human ken could anticipate and avoid." There was every promise of fair weather when the steamer attempted to leave the harbor; but the "sudden southeast gale, blowing with hurricane violence, consummated that which no skill or judgment could prevent." The "deliberate conviction" of the signers was that no commander in charge of "so massive a vessel as this – it having at work but a single oscillating engine and one wheel where two are required . . . could have evinced more skill, discretion and judgment than the gentleman commanding the *Golden Gate*."[19]

The opinions expressed in these resolutions have been given in considerable detail, because they differed so widely from those Andrew Rocca held. It is certain that he did not vote with the majority, if he attended the meeting and understood everything that was being said, because he was always extremely critical of the commander of the *Golden Gate*. Privately, he insisted that the officers had been drinking and that the captain was drunk and thus failed to find the channel in leaving San Diego harbor. There is no positive evidence either to confirm or refute that charge, except that a man of the moral rectitude of Bishop Kip, who would hardly condone such behavior, seemed to have thought highly of Captain Isham, and, after considering the difficulty of finding a narrow, winding channel in a disabled ship, was able to remark that the captain had "managed the vessel, as all allowed, in a masterly way."[20]

When interviewed (note 1 below), Andrew Rocca criticized "Captain Whiting" for refusing the aid offered by the passing steamer *Uncle Sam*, when the *Golden Gate* was drifting about under sail and its officers were attempting to repair the broken shaft. That interview, it should be noted again, was given nearly sixty years after the event. The reference to Captain Whiting is undoubtedly a slip of memory, since no officer by that name is mentioned either in any of the newspaper articles appearing at the time or in Bishop Kip's book. The refusal of aid by a passing steamer under the circumstances then existing – with approximately 800 passengers in a badly disabled ship, food and water supplies commencing to run low – certainly would constitute grounds for grave criticism of the commanding officer. Captain Isham himself and the contemporary newspaper accounts are silent on the subject of the *Uncle Sam*, but an item which Bishop Kip quotes from his journal under date of January 11, 1854, establishes the fact that the *Uncle Sam* did indeed pass by that day. However, he gives a different reason for the fact that the ship did not come to the aid of the *Golden Gate*. "At daylight," Kip wrote, "the *Uncle Sam*, which left Panama with us, came in sight, and seeing our situation, ran down to within a quarter of a mile of us. She could do nothing, however, to help us, for as the sea was running, it would have been difficult to have taken off our passengers, and she therefore stood off again to the north and left us."[21]

Again, Andrew Rocca was critical of the captain's efforts to bail out water – in spite of the fact, he said, that a diver, sent down to investigate, had reported that the ship no longer had a bottom; and he criticized, too, the captain's refusal to allow the passengers to land for so many hours after the steamer struck the reef. The facts indicate that the first of these two charges could not have been true. Although the *Golden Gate* did sustain serious damage in the accident, she was freed from her position at the end of January and "arrived at San Francisco steaming on one engine on February 4th."[22] Furthermore, the editor of the *Alta California* saw the ship in dry dock at Mare Island and reported on March 11, 1854, that when the ship's bottom was examined it was found to be "uninjured with the exception of one plank that had started, which caused her to leak."

As for the second criticism – refusal to allow the passengers to land for so many hours – the facts already presented suggest that the only time when the passengers could have been landed safely during the thirty-six hour ordeal was immediately after the ship went aground and before the storm broke; that is, sometime between 3:00 P.M. and 6:00 P.M. on January eighteenth. This period, of course, was consumed in trying to free the ship by passing ropes to the *Goliah*, and the ebbing tide would probably have prevented a landing after those attempts failed. All contemporary accounts seem agreed that the fierceness of the storm after 6:00 P.M. would have made any landing extremely hazardous, if not quite impossible. The fact that all of the passengers were eventually saved indicates that there must have been some wisdom in Isham's decision to keep them on board ship until the storm had abated.

The existing evidence would seem to show that Captain Isham's most serious error in judgment was probably that of attempting to take his ship and her passengers out of San Diego harbor, once he had brought them there safely, when even his champions described the vessel as being "in a sea-way necessarily and inevitably unmanageable."[23] That mistake, of course, was excused on the grounds that the weather was fair at the time, and it was only the sudden gale that imperiled the steamer and all on board.

In connection with Andrew Rocca's harsh criticisms it should be observed, first of all, that he was only a youth at the time, and, though he had an excellent memory and plenty of courage, he was of an excitable temperament. The lasting impression the adventure made upon him indicates that he was as frightened as any other eighteen-year-old would have been under similar circumstances – thousands of miles from home, entirely on his own, and in imminent danger. Perhaps he was even more concerned than some others might have been, because, while swimming in the Mediterranean, he had once escaped death by drowning by the narrowest of margins. Then, too, his command of English at that time must have been very slight, and it is possible that at least part of his criticisms were the result of failure to understand. Finally, in crossing the Atlantic only a short time before, he had been shocked and repelled by the brutality of the ship's officers toward the crew, and he still felt a deep distrust for all sea captains. On that voyage he had been particularly horrified when a young sailor, who had fled from his pursuers and taken temporary refuge in the rigging, was shot down, and his lifeless body callously tossed overboard.

As to the *Golden Gate's* subsequent history: in his letter of January 20, 1854 (referred to in note 5 below), to Flint, the San Francisco agent of his company, Captain Isham had said, "I think you had better send down a set of purchases and two or three steam-pumps, and if we do not get another gale we will succeed in saving the ship. At 12 M. I have sounded in two lines from the ship, and find that we must lighten the ship twenty inches to get her off."

On January 25, 1854, the San Francisco *Herald* announced that the steamer *Thomas Hunt* had been chartered by Flint to take down one hundred picked men under command of Captain Waterman "for the purpose of getting off the *Golden Gate* if she can be got off." The article doubted if a more efficient body of men had ever been shipped from San Francisco, and it praised the alacrity with which aid was dispatched to the ship. As has already been intimated, the crew did prove equal to the task, the vessel was saved, and it reached San Francisco early in February on its way to Mare Island and Benicia for repairs.

By March 11, 1854, the editor of the *Alta* was able to report that, contrary to the fears of those most capable of judging, no serious damage had been done to the *Gate* "from the length of time she had been ashore at San Diego . . . her lines and bearings were as perfect as the day she was launched." He added that "we shall have the *Golden Gate* of old once more in all her former elegance, bearing no marks of injury, and with proof now firmly established that she is one of the strongest steamers afloat."

During the next eight and a half years, the *Golden Gate* continued to carry passengers between Panama and San Francisco, and to take great quantities of gold away from California. But at the end of July 1862, she came to a fiery and terrible end. When she was about fifteen miles west of Manzanillo on a regular trip to Panama, fire broke out amidships. Realizing the peril, the captain then headed her for the beach but at so high a speed that the fire, spreading rapidly, prevented the boats from being launched. By the time the holocaust was over, the *Gate* was burned and beached, with a loss of life of around 223 persons and of treasure amounting to nearly one and a half million dollars.[24]

While other steamers had their enthusiastic supporters, probably no other vessel in the Panama-California passenger service during the gold rush enjoyed equal fame with the *Golden Gate*. In her more than a decade in that highly competitive business, she earned a reputation for speed, seaworthiness, and luxury. But her tragic end in 1862 marred the otherwise enviable safety record of the Pacific Mail S.S. Co. In the long period of greatest activity on the Panama route – 1848 to 1869 – there was no loss of life because of either fire or wreck on any of the other ships of the company.[25]

NOTES

1. For a brief account, based on a personal interview, of Andrew Rocca's life, including his experiences on the *Golden Gate, see* Aurelius O. Carpenter and Percy H. Millberry, *History of Mendocino and Lake Counties, California* (Los Angeles, 1914), pp. 425 ff.

Andrew Rocca left no written account of his experiences on the *Golden Gate,* but he often retold the story to his children from the 1890's until his death in 1921. In presenting my father's views here I have had the benefit of recollections given to me independently by five members of my family—my sisters, Lillian L. Stewart of San Diego, Florence G. McFarling of Ukiah, Idalene B. McCollum of Healdsburg; and my brothers, Andrew Rocca, Jr. of South San Francisco, and Bernard T. Rocca of Berkeley. All five of them later read and sent me their comments on the first draft of the story appearing in this article, and the final draft was written after careful weighing of all comments and suggestions. Andrew Rocca was prominent in gold mining in Mariposa, Tuolumne, and Shasta counties from the 1850's to 1876, owning and operating the Golden Rock Water Co. in Tuolumne County from 1869 to 1875, and serving as superintendent of the Spring Creek Mining Co. in Shasta County from 1875 to 1876. From the autumn of the latter year to the end of his life, he was active in quicksilver mining in Lake County, first as superintendent of the Great Western Quicksilver Mine from 1876 to 1900, then as owner and operator of the Helen Mine from 1900 to 1921.

2. In *The Land Divided* (New York, 1944), p. 144, Gerstle Mack points out that the "space per passenger then considered adequate would satisfy few modern globe-trotters." The facts in this paragraph on the dimensions, etc., of the steamer are from John Haskell Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943), pp. 40, 228. On Pacific Mail steamers in general, *see also* Ernest A. Wiltsee, *Gold Rush Steamers of the Pacific* (San Francisco, 1938); and John Walton Caughey, *Hubert Howe Bancroft* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), p. 25.

3. This was excellent time even for the *Golden Gate,* since, according to Mack, *op. cit.*, p. 144, it usually took her thirteen days in good weather to cover the distance of approximately 4,000 miles between San Francisco and Panama.

4. The *Alta* had as much affection for the officers of the *Golden Gate* as it did for the vessel itself, frequently publishing complimentary material about Captain Patterson, First-Officer Howland, Purser Macy, etc. *See* especially the issue of Jan. 28, 1853.

5. *Alta California,* Jan. 24, 1854. That issue is full of information about the episode recounted here, and, in telling the story, use was made of the facts as given in Captain Isham's letter of Jan. 20, 1854, to E. Flint, the San Francisco agent of the Pacific Mail S. S. Co., and in the card from the passengers of the *Golden Gate,* dated Jan. 19, 1854, both of which are printed in full in the *Alta* of Jan. 24, 1854. Substantially the same story appears in the San Francisco *Herald* for Jan. 24,

25, 1854. All subsequent references to what Captain Isham himself had to say are from his letter in the *Alta,* and the statement of the passengers will hereafter be cited as "Card from the passengers." Another very valuable source of information is the account of a man who was a passenger on the vessel, William Ingraham Kip, *Early Days of My Episcopate* (New York, 1892), pp. 39-55, 66-67. The Right Reverend Kip, who was en route to assume his post as Episcopal bishop of California, kept a journal of his experiences from which the manuscript of his book was written in 1859-1860, although it was not published for more than thirty years. For brief accounts of the grounding of the vessel, see Kemble, *op. cit.,* p. 141, and Wiltsee, *op. cit.,* pp. 132-133.

6. Kip, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

7. *Ibid.,* p. 41.

8. *Ibid.,* p. 42.

9. According to Bishop Kip, *op. cit.,* pp. 43-45, on the 11th meals were reduced to two and tea abolished, on the 12th passengers were ordered to use fresh water for drinking purposes only, while the water allowance is mentioned for the first time on the 16th. On that day he wrote in his journal: ". . . provisions are growing scarce, and we have been put on an allowance of water. Part of a tumblerfull is given to each one at dinner, none of which is to be taken from the table." Newspaper accounts of the time also mention briefly the suffering from thirst and the concern of the male passengers over the "more than 150 ladies and children" on board.

10. Kip, *op. cit.,* pp. 47-48.

11. Card from the passengers.

12. The *Goliah,* also a wooden, side-wheel steamer which reached San Francisco in 1851, was first used on the Sacramento River as the *Defender.* As the *Goliah,* she was a coastwise steamer and then a tow-boat on San Francisco Bay and Puget Sound. She had a very long career, still being in service as late as 1895. Kemble, *op. cit.,* p. 229. In the interview mentioned in note 1 above, Andrew Rocca called her the "*Goliath.*"

13. San Francisco *Herald,* Jan. 24, 1854.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Kip, *op. cit.,* p. 51.

16. *Alta California,* Jan. 24, 1854.

17. Kemble, *op. cit.,* p. 152.

18. Although all sources are agreed that the first passengers to reach San Francisco from the *Golden Gate* came on the *Goliah,* there is difference of opinion as to which vessels transported the remaining passengers to their destination. According to Bishop Kip, *op. cit.,* pp. 57, 61, 66, those vessels were the *Southerner* and the *Columbia.* The *Herald* of Jan. 24, 1854, said the *Southerner* sailed with about the same number of passengers as the *Goliah,* leaving some 350 of them at

San Diego "awaiting other conveyance." The *Alta* of Feb. 3, 1854, stated that the *Brother Jonathan* was then due from San Diego, bringing all of the remaining passengers who had been stranded there since the grounding of the *Golden Gate*, and in his interview Andrew Rocca also credited that vessel with taking the last of the passengers to San Francisco. But John Kemble, in his Ph. D. thesis, "*The Panama Route to California, 1848-1869*" (Univ. Calif., 1937), p. 465, says it was the *Columbia* and the *Vaquero* which performed that service.

19. Card from the passengers.

20. Kip, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 42. According to this source also (p. 57), it was the *Uncle Sam* which was responsible for the Pacific Mail S. S. Co. sending the *Columbia* to San Diego to assist the *Golden Gate*. "On the report of the *Uncle Sam*," he wrote, "that she had spoken us, lying-to, disabled in a rough sea, it was naturally supposed that we would get into some place to refit. The *Columbia* was therefore at once despatched by the agents of the company, with a hundred picked men and the proper machinery for a wreck. . . ."

22. Wiltsee, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Kemble, however, in his Ph. D. thesis, (note 18 above), *loc. cit.*, says she arrived on Feb. 3rd.

23. Card from the passengers.

24. Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869*, pp. 144-145; Wiltsee, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-298. The *Alta* and other San Francisco newspapers of Aug. 7, 8, 1862, printed full details of the disaster, and it is probable that these accounts had no more interested reader than Andrew Rocca.

25. Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869*, p. 140. Even though burned and beached, the *Golden Gate* continued to make news: first, when part of her buried treasure was recovered, and then when a plot of Confederate privateers to capture the *Constitution*—bearing among other valuables seven boxes of the gold salvaged from the *Golden Gate*—was frustrated. *See* William Martin Camp, *San Francisco, Port of Gold* (Garden City, 1947), pp. 134 ff.

Development of Transportation Routes in the Clear Lake Area

By Frederick J. Simoons

Historical Introduction. In 1854, after the gold fever had subsided somewhat, the first agriculturalists cut a wagon road from Napa City over the chaparral- and pine-covered hills to Clear Lake. To these immigrants, the 20-mile-long, tule-bordered lake, largest wholly within California, seems to have suggested an abundant rainfall such as they had known in the east. Following the first pioneers came other wagonloads of land seekers, who within a decade had occupied most of the best valley land bordering Clear Lake. Throughout its early years of settlement the Clear Lake country, joined politically as Lake County, remained an isolated, interior frontier of California, where settlers were dependent on subsistence farming and on a small cash income from sales of livestock and grain.

The gradual breaking down of this isolation came with the expansion of economic activities. It was in Lake County that the first borax produced in the United States was extracted (1864), as well as the first western sulphur (1865), and a tenth of California's quicksilver, which was much in demand in the gold- and silver-mining areas of the west. Moreover, the Clear Lake area contained a varied group of hot and cold mineral springs, and soon more than a dozen mineral health resorts sprang up in the hills, gaining rapid and widespread recognition in northern California for the effectiveness of their waters. Already by 1870 these resorts, favored also by the warm summer days and cool nights of the area, were attracting thousands of vacationists, who were seeking relief from the heat of the Sacramento Valley or the fogs of the San Francisco Bay region eighty miles to the south. Thus, with farming and ranching activities expanding, and with mines and resort business booming, the local people directed their attention to improving the roads, which were scarcely more than trails in summer and quagmires in winter.

See Judge B. C. Jones on early Lake County trails, p. 376 below. [Ed.]

TOLL ROAD CONSTRUCTION

In 1860, Upper Clear Lake (now called Upper Lake) had regular contact with Lower Lake, 20 miles to the south, by a weekly stage ($2.50), with Ukiah by a weekly horseback journey ($2.00), and with Gravelly Valley, 20 miles to the north, by a semimonthly mule train ($1.50).[1] Long Valley could be reached from Upper Clear Lake in half a day, by an occasional wagon going that way. Twin Valleys, Potter Valley, Scott Valley, Bachelor Valley, and Indian Valley were reached only by trail. These limited, costly, and often irregular public transportation facilities were typical of those prevailing throughout Lake County at the time, but a number of pioneers obtained franchises and in the mid-1860's commenced building toll roads over the mountains. Thus in 1865 the Dodson Toll Road was completed from Big Valley to Cloverdale[2] and, following this pioneer effort, other roads were opened in rapid succession. By 1872 the following toll roads had been built: one across Mount Saint Helena connecting Middletown with Calistoga, another across Cobb Mountain connecting Middletown with Kelseyville, a third from Upper Lake to Ukiah, and a fourth to Colusa County by way of Bartlett Springs.

In the early 1890's, all important routes into Lake County were toll roads.[3] Every horseman, wagoner, and stagecoach operator paid toll. Payment was made on every cow, sheep, and hog driven to market in the low country. The steep mountain barrier that provided an alternate path to travelers was blocked in many places by nearly impenetrable brush. Wagons could scarcely get through such country, nor could herds of animals easily be controlled in it. In time, much resentment developed against the turnpike owners. Travelers would follow a road but would leave it to avoid payment before reaching the tollhouse.[4] In at least one case, that of the Epperson Toll Road to Bartlett Springs, bypassing the tollhouse became so general that it was moved several miles to a spot less readily avoided. When the Highland Springs-Pieta Toll Road was completed, the old Dodson Road to Cloverdale was closed and blocked by construction of a building at its Lake County end. Teamsters, however, tipped over the building so that they could continue to use the old road without charge. Subsequently a deep ditch was dug across the road, which effectively stopped traffic.[5]

Strong agitation developed for the establishment of "free roads," and, starting in 1896, the toll barrier was broken to the east and west when the Blue Lakes Toll Road to Ukiah was made free,[6] and that section of the Bear Valley and Bartlett Springs Road (successor to the Epperson Toll Road) was made free from Bartlett Springs to Colusa.[7] The bitterness of the settlers at being forced to pay toll, while understandable, should not obscure the fact that toll roads provided a very necessary service to the public when the government was in no position to do so.

LAKE SHIPPING

Today people are attracted to Clear Lake for swimming, boating, and fishing, but it is of no importance as a communication link. This is entirely contrary to its services in that respect, earlier. By 1860 in fact – a half dozen years after the first American farmers arrived – a sloop was already in operation on the lake;[8] and, in the years that followed, additional sailing vessels were placed in service to haul cargoes of lumber, firewood, grain, and supplies from the important agricultural valleys and pineries at the northern end of Clear Lake to boat landings at its southern end, whence these goods were carried by wagon to the busy mine towns. Borax Lake, a saline lake just east of Clear Lake, accounted for the first borax production from 1864 to 1868 and gave the first impetus to lake freighting. A short while later, in 1865, mining was started on the huge andesite flows at Sulphur Bank just a mile north of Borax Lake, and the masters of the lake freighters were further encouraged by a substantial increase in business. Following 1870 there was a rapid expansion of quicksilver mining at the Sulphur Bank and in the Knoxville, Sulphur Creek, and Mayacmas districts, which extend from southern Lake into neighboring counties. Thereupon, lake freighting assumed a significant position in the local economy.

The 1870's saw the first wood-burning steamers put into active service on the lake, supplementing and gradually replacing the sailing vessels, which were often becalmed. In 1877 two steamers, the packet *Emma* and the passenger ship *City of Lakeport*, were operating, providing quick and dependable lake transport.[9] Even these steam vessels, however, were not always free of the vagaries of the wind and, in March 1880, violent gales blowing from the north threw the *City of Lakeport*, with all anchors out, onto the beach. At the same time, the steam packet *Emma* was caught in a whirlwind and driven onto a sand bar.[10]

The early successes of Lake County quicksilver mines were matched by those of the mineral-springs resorts in the dry hills, and pleasant means of reaching them over Clear Lake were provided the vacationists. For example, the passenger ship *City of Lakeport* connected at Lower

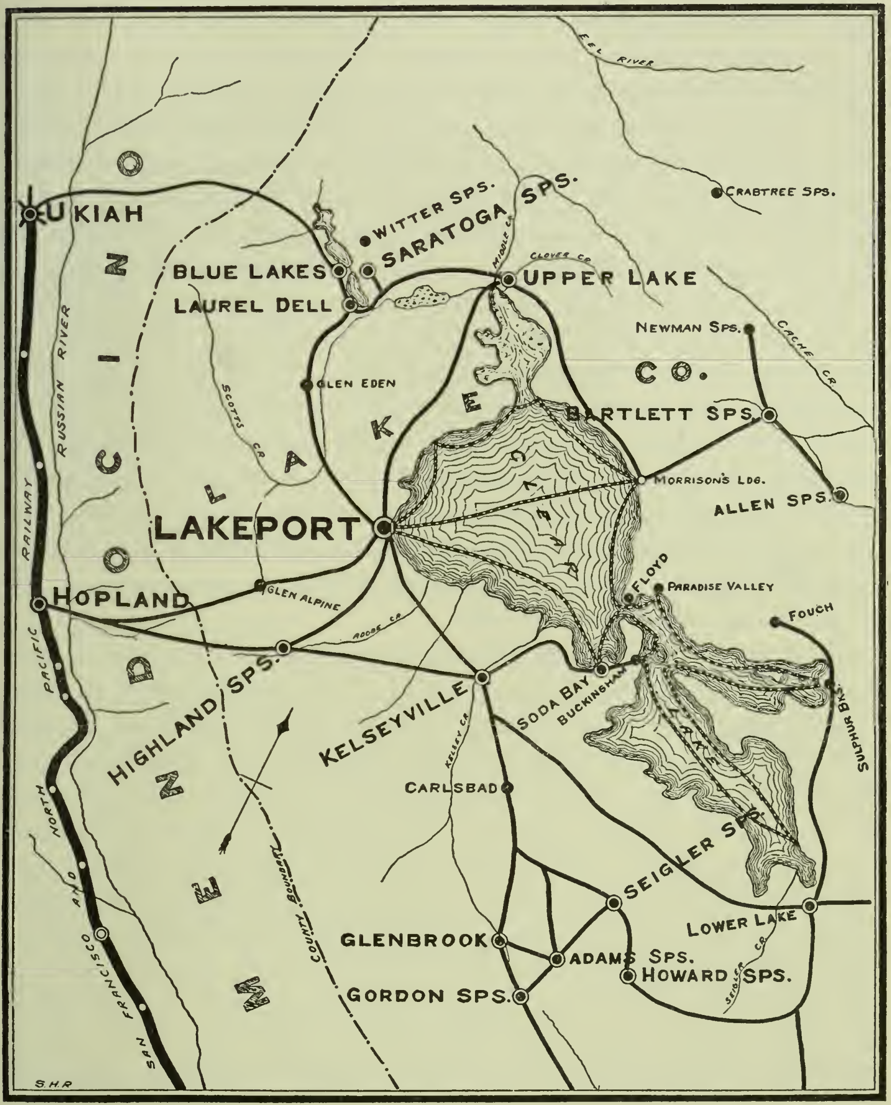
Lake with a line of stages from Calistoga, the Napa Valley railhead. From Lower Lake the vessel ran to the Sulphur Bank, which passengers were permitted to visit for a short while. Then the ship continued on its way, crossing the lake to the Soda Bay Resort and proceeding from there to Lakeport. The 30-mile trip from Lower Lake Landing took a little more than two hours. The *City of Lakeport* was 78 feet in length and 10 feet in beam, could accommodate 20 to 30 passengers, had 2 cabins, and a maximum speed of 18 miles per hour.[11] During the summer tourist season the boat operated daily, but in the fall and winter it ran on a restricted schedule. The operation of the *City of Lakeport* proved in time to be unprofitable, because it carried no freight to supplement the income from passengers. Subsequently the Bartlett Springs Company, which operated the most popular resort in the Clear Lake area, purchased the ship so that tourists, journeying to the resort, could continue to enjoy the boat ride.

Freighting remained profitable as long as quicksilver mining continued on a large scale; and additional ships, mostly freight vessels, were built and launched on the lake before 1890. Among these were the *Bay City*, the *Hallie*, the *Kitty Kelly*, the *East Lake*, and the *Julia Ann*. The *Hallie* was hauled by wagon over mountain roads from the lowlands,[12] but most of the other boats, and the barges they usually towed, were constructed, at the lake, of wood from local oaks and white cedar. Though ship accidents and explosions occurred, they failed to mar the early success of lake transport.

HOPES FOR RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION

Encouraged by the success of spectacular railroad construction elsewhere in California, and spurred on by the need for cheap, rapid transportation in Lake County, promoters organized the Suisun, Berryessa & Clear Lake R.R. Co., which was incorporated in San Francisco in 1869.[13] The backers pointed to the 7,000 acres of cultivated land in Lake County, to its good wheat, barley, and vegetable crops, and to its sizable cheese production. Moreover, they argued, the quicksilver mines shipped thousands of flasks annually to Suisun and gave promise of increased production in the future.[14] Surveys were completed along the lower section of the railroad near Suisun in November 1869, and a contract was actually granted for grading this part[15] before the project was abandoned.

In 1879, local hopes were again stimulated when a survey was made from the Southern Pacific railhead at Rumsey up Cache Creek Canyon.


UKIAH
BLUE LAKES
LAUREL DELL
WITTER SPS.
SARATOGA SPS.
UPPER LAKE
CRABTREE SPS.
EEL RIVER
MIDDLE CR.
CLOVER CR.
NEWMAN SPS.
CACHE CR.
GLEN EDEN
BARTLETT SPS.
MORRISON'S LDG.
ALLEN SPS.
LAKEPORT
HOPLAND
GLEN ALPINE
ADOBE CR.
FLOYD
PARADISE VALLEY
FOUCH
HIGHLAND SPS.
KELSEYVILLE
SODA BAY
BUCKINGHAM
SULPHUR BKS.
CARLSBAD
KELSEY CR.
SEIGLER SPS.
LOWER LAKE
GLENBROOK
ADAMS SPS.
HOWARD SPS.
GORDON SPS.
SEIGLER CR.
MENDOCINO
LAKE CO.
CLEAR LAKE
RUSSIAN RIVER
SCOTTS CR.
COUNTY BOUNDARY
SAN FRANCISCO AND NORTH PACIFIC RAILWAY
S.H.R.

Reproduced from map in undated publicity-booklet,
Lakeport, the Geneva of America

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

It was supposed that this survey was sponsored by the Southern Pacific R.R.,[16] but nothing came of it. In 1881, the San Francisco & Clear Lake R.R. was incorporated "for the purpose of constructing and operating a railroad by steam or other power between the waters of the bay and Clear Lake"[17] as well as to own and navigate steam and sailing vessels connecting San Francisco with the railroad terminal. This road was to have a length of 75 miles, and the company a capital stock of $1,500,000. Meetings of earnest citizens were held throughout Lake County, for the purpose of raising donations or stock subscriptions amounting to $75,000, which the company deemed to be a fair share of its needs.[18] Purchasers were to pay for the stock in two installments: one-half when the tracks reached the county border, and the balance when they reached the lake. In spite of the satisfaction with the project that everyone displayed, there were very few who would do much in the way of pecuniary assistance.[19] The president of the company subsequently lowered the minimum amount of subscription to be given by Lake County people to $40,000, threatening to abandon the project if these demands were not met.[20] The project was never mentioned in the county newspapers after mid-1882.

Other ineffectual schemes followed in quick succession, some attracting considerable support and resulting in substantial losses to Lake County investors. The main idea animating the promoters was to connect the largest agricultural area of Big Valley with the towns of Cloverdale, Hopland, Pieta, or Ukiah on the rail line which, by then, extended up the Russian River Valley. Local enthusiasts, jaded by repeated schemes, became less and less ready to invest in rail stock. Periodically, however, particular ventures that gave great promise were vigorously supported. It soon became evident that the ventures backed by small investors either lacked the necessary capital to carry through the construction projects, or, it was rumored, were frightened or bought off by the giant Southern Pacific and Central Pacific R.R. companies.[21] Many residents hoped that one of these large companies would espouse Lake County's cause and start construction of a feeder line to the Clear Lake area. Thus, in 1889, large public meetings were held in all the Lake County towns to endorse the proposed Southern Pacific line from Rutherford, in Napa County, to Lower Lake and other parts of Lake County.[22] Later in 1889 it was rumored that the Union Pacific R.R. proposed to enter California from Oregon, and make its way to San Francisco via the Russian River Valley to the west of Lake County.[23]

Local citizens' hopes ran high that the Union Pacific would stand up to the Central and Southern Pacific lines, and perhaps build a feeder line into Lake County; but shortly afterwards the Union Pacific made agreements with the existing lines. As a result, Lake and Alpine were the only two California counties without railroad trackage in 1890.

In the 1890's came a shift in plans from steam to electricity, the power to be manufactured by the use of water from Clear Lake. In 1895-96, one electric line was proposed to run all the way from Napa City, or from tidewater on the bay south of Napa, up the Napa Valley, then by a circuitous route to Lower Lake, and thence along the shore to Lakeport. The proposed power line for this railroad was to supply electricity to consumers along the line as far south as Vallejo.[24] Despite rosy plans and rosier anticipations, Lake County was never reached by an electric railroad, although one built up the Napa Valley to its head was used by travelers journeying to the Clear Lake area. Railroad schemes continued into the early years of the twentieth century: as late as 1914 there were hopes for the construction of a narrow-gauge road from Hopland to Lakeport. Seven miles of the 23-mile route were graded before the undertaking was dropped.[25]

The story of the railroads proposed for Lake County is long and disappointing. Apparently the only organizations capable of financing projects of this size were the big rail companies; but they realized, much more than the local promoters, that the costs of railroad construction were too great in terms of the revenue to be expected. Consequently, no rail line was ever constructed into the Clear Lake area.

TRANSPORTATION CHANGES IN THE CONTEMPORARY ERA

Since 1910, striking improvements have been made in the roads tying the Clear Lake country to neighboring areas, and, at the same time, there has been a notable strengthening of the bonds connecting California with eastern United States produce markets. This has meant that the Clear Lake area itself has moved toward integration with the nation's economy as a whole.

Not only have Lake County roads been improved but, under public pressure, the practice of toll collection has been gradually abandoned. In 1922, the counties of Napa and Lake purchased the Lawley Toll Road over Mount Saint Helena for $30,000, and, two years later, canceled toll charges.[26] In 1924, the final toll barrier was removed when the last section of the Clear Lake and Bartlett Springs Road was made a public highway, free for all to travel.[27]

As the Lake County resorts became more accessible, so did many interesting vacation areas at greater distances from the San Francisco Bay cities, with the result that Lake County was forsaken by many people going on extended holidays. It became, instead, a weekend resort center and many small resorts were built to serve this new need.

Surfaced state highways built into the Clear Lake area had an important effect on the location of new resorts, for the entire resort business now depended very much on ready accessibility. Good roads were constructed over Mount Saint Helena and Cobb Mountain, and the old resorts were supplemented by new ones. Moreover, construction of the Ukiah-Tahoe highway, State Highway 20, in the mid-1920's, opened up an entirely new area for resorts. Running from west to east by the Blue Lakes gap, Upper Lake, the eastern lake-shore and Grizzly Canyon, the new highway encouraged a gradual lakeside resort-development, e.g., Nice, Lucerne, and, for the first time, Clear Lake itself became a center of recreational activities.

There was considerable controversy about just where the east-west road should be constructed. The Bartlett Springs Co. organized a local pressure group, seeking to have the Ukiah-Tahoe highway run east by way of their property, and so give a new lease on life to the failing resorts there. When the state highway engineers decided in favor of the Grizzly Canyon route to the south, the resorts of the Bartlett cluster, reached only by steep, winding, dusty roads, lost more and more business until they were forced to close.[28]

In 1929, a state highway from Lower Lake east to Rumsey was constructed and linked with the Ukiah-Tahoe highway in going through the ranges separating Clear Lake from the Sacramento Valley. The selection of this route, rather than the one via Morgan Valley, favored by county residents, left the entire southeastern corner of the county isolated.

The present-day cultural landscape in Lake County is dominated by pear, prune, and walnut orchards, cattle ranches, and weekend-type resorts, clustered along the shores of Clear Lake and in the pine-covered mountains south of the lake. Not far from the paved roads that cross the area today may be found the remains of its past: quicksilver ore dumps, ruins of furnaces and mine buildings, abandoned vineyards, a few olive trees surviving among the chaparral, and sepulchral remains of oncethriving mineral-spring resorts, the decline of which was directly associated with improvements of and changes in transportation routes.

NOTES

1. Listed as "Public Conveyances," and times of departure and arrival indicated, in "Bancroft Scrapbooks" (Bancroft Library), IV, 138.

2. Aurelius O. Carpenter and Percy H. Millberry, *History of Mendocino and Lake Counties, California* (Los Angeles, 1914), p. 146.

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. Henry Mauldin, "Notebooks" (six unpublished, typewritten books of miscellaneous Lake County historical material, in the author's own possession at Lakeport; 1200 pages), pp. 696-97.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

6. Carpenter and Millberry, *loc. cit.*

7. Middletown *Independent*, May 16, 1896.

8. Mauldin, *op. cit.*, p. 922.

9. *Pacific Rural Press*, Dec. 1, 1877, p. 338.

10. Lower Lake *Bulletin*, March 13, 1880.

11. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1879.

12. Mauldin, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

13. Lower Lake *Bulletin*, Oct. 16, 1869.

14. *Idem.*

15. *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1869.

16. Carpenter and Millberry, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

17. Lower Lake *Bulletin*, Nov. 5, 1881.

18. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1882.

19. *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1882.

20. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1882.

21. Carpenter and Millberry, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

22. Lower Lake *Bulletin*, March 16 and March 23, 1889.

23. *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1889.

24. Middletown *Independent*, Jan. 25, 1896.

25. Mauldin, *op. cit.*, p. 1071.

26. *Lake County Bee*, Feb. 6, 1924.

27. *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1924.

28. Bartlett Springs struggled along until 1934, when it was suddenly destroyed by a fire, for which the owners allegedly collected large insurance claims. For an account of a pioneer of 1841, who, in 1877, became one of the owners of the famous old resort through purchase from its founder, Green Bartlett, *see* Ellen Lamont Wood, 'Samuel Green McMahan" [b. 1819; d. 1884], this QUARTERLY, XXIII (Dec. 1944), pp. 289-300.

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

Active

Name	Address	Proposed by
E. D. Bronson	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Burbank Public Library	Burbank	Membership Committee
William R. Cameron, Col., U.S.A.	Arlington, Va.	Mrs. W. M. O'Donnell
Hon. Thomas Coakley	Mariposa	Homer D. Crotty
E. L. De Golyer	Dallas, Texas	Allen L. Chickering
Charles Medley Dougherty	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Edwin Emerson	Mountain View	Guy C. Miller
Hon. Sherrill Halbert	Modesto	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Warren L. Hanna	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
W. Turrentine Jackson	Davis	Ralph P. Bieber
University of Kansas Library	Lawrence	Membership Committee
Mrs. Margaret Koch	Glenwood	Mrs. Mildred Baird
F. S. McAllister	San Francisco	James Abajian
Mrs. Frank C. McKeegan	Stockton	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Miss Lila McKinne	San Francisco	Miss Eva Powell and Dozier Finley
Edwin S. Moore	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. W. M. O'Donnell	Monterey	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
A. S. Oko	Inverness	R. D. Marshall
Louis Jackson Silva, D.D.S.	Oakland	Hobart M. Lovett
John Homer Woolsey, M.D.	Woodland	R. H. Cross

GIFTS OF RECOGNITION

To honor the following living persons, friends of the Society have made substantial monetary or other gifts:

Tamara Brown
Kenneth Michael Mackenzie
Lewis Madison Terman
Otis Buckminster Wight, M.D.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial, arranged by year of gift.

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Ann May Perry
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman
William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
Julia Stamper Berman

Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Eleanor Smith Boone
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Glada V. Elden
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Emma T. Kessler
Eva M. Koch
Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Margaret N. Hart
Flodden W. Heron
Elizabeth Thacher Kent
Douglas Stuart Loud
Jean Parker McEwen
Irving Martin
George Lovett Merwin
C. O. G. Miller
John J. Newbegin
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Thomas L. Phillips
Ruth Loring Richardson
Warren Russell
Irving M. Scott, Jr.
Willard Brown Thorp
George F. Williamson
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata

1953

Frank H. Allen
Arthur John Bancroft
Francis Edward Bishop
Herbert Eugene Bolton
Marie Wilson Bradley
Paul W. Brannon
Arthur H. Breed
LeRoy H. Briggs, M.D.
Katherine Thayer Cate
Bessie Hobart Chapman
Frederick Herman Coon
Florence Osterero Cullen
Lillie E. Davis
Jerry W. DeCou
Alice Eastwood
Maude Wyman Eberts
Paul Eliel
George August Fuhrig
Robert B. Gaylord
Frank Carroll Giffen
Mary Glide Goethe
Irene L. Goudey
Mabel L. Holmes
Frederick B. Kellam
George E. Kennedy
William James Laing
Winifred M. Menzies
Helen Knox Merwin
Olga M. Meyer
Katharine Hutchinson Post
J. Sheldon Potter
Laura Carmany Rulofson
Gertrude Miller Simmons
Lynn Townsend White

In Memoriam

Parker Simmons Maddux

Parker Simmons Maddux (b. Dixon, Calif., May 29, 1880), a lawyer and distinguished banker, died at San Francisco on October 31, 1953. Following his graduation from the University of California in 1902, he attended the Harvard Law School, from which he was graduated in 1905. Thereupon he took up the practice of law in San Francisco. The years 1910-1912 were spent as assistant

U. S. attorney for the northern district of California, after which he was made attorney for the Savings Union Bank & Trust Co. Promotion to the board of directors and vice-presidency of this bank was succeeded, after the bank's merger into the Mercantile Trust Co., by a directorship in the newly-formed organization. From the Mercantile Trust and its successor, The American Trust Co., he went to the San Francisco Bank as executive vice-president in 1930, and in 1933 he became its president. Only a few days before his death, he had been made chairman of the board of the San Francisco Bank.

Mr. Maddux took an active part in the community activities of the San Francisco Bay region. Besides membership in the California Historical Society (of which he became a patron member in 1950) and the California Academy of Sciences, he belonged to the Pacific-Union Club, the Commercial Club, and the Press Club – all of San Francisco – and the Bankers Club of New York. There was never a time when he failed in readiness to assist in connection with charitable matters; of many of them in the vicinity of San Francisco he served as a director.

Parker Maddux was married twice. His first marriage was to Edith Marion Walker, who died in 1932. By her he had two children, Jackson and Meredith Maddux. His second wife, whom he married in 1933 and who survives him, was Grace Helen Butler.

In his death, the whole community has lost a valued citizen.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING.

HENRY FOSTER DUTTON

Henry Foster Dutton, son of Henry and Mary Talbot Dutton, died on November 3, 1953, in San Francisco, the city of his birth seventy-seven years ago (Oct. 6, 1876). An uncle, William J. Dutton, was for many years president of the Fireman's Fund Insurance Co., while, on his mother's side, he was related to William Chaloner Talbot of the prominent shipping and lumber firm of Pope and Talbot. Mr. Dutton attended the University of California with the class of 1899 and was elected to membership in the Zeta Psi Fraternity. At the time of World War I, he enlisted in the "Grizzlies" – 144th Field Artillery – serving as battalion adjutant with the rank of captain.

In business affairs, Henry Dutton was a partner of G. R. A. Browne and Laurence Scott, insurance brokers. He was an ardent sportsman, fond especially of duck shooting; in his younger days he was a member of the Suisun Gun Club, whose preserve was on Suisun Marsh.

Mr. Dutton's first wife was Jane Dunn; his second wife, Violet Phillips Dutton, survives him, as do their two daughters, Mrs. Robert Eberhardt and Miss Violet Talbot Dutton; also a stepson, Witcher Dunn.

Dutton was a most friendly and courteous gentleman, highly thought of among a large circle of friends who will miss him greatly. He had been a sustaining member of the California Historical Society since 1938.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

MEETINGS

HON. BENJAMIN C. JONES *(Superior Court, Lake County)*; April 9, 1953; "Early Trails of the Clear Lake Region."

In the country lying north of Napa County and west of the Sacramento River, a trail, important in the area's early settlement, commenced in Berryessa Valley and followed up Putah Creek to a point near the old Stone House, northeast of Middletown. From there it led through a low gap in the hills to the lower end of Clear Lake and its outlet through Cache Creek. Trails at this point went westerly along the north and south shores of the lake and thence through passes into the watersheds of the Russian and Eel rivers.

From the outlet of Clear Lake, the northerly trail led into Long Valley; thence it proceeded through a pass into Indian Valley, up the north fork of Cache Creek to Spanish Creek, past Spanish Camp, and thence over a low divide into Stoney Creek; then down this creek to a point near Stoney Ford; thence, northerly, along the foothills of the Yollo Bolla Mountains to Thoms Creek, to Red Bluff and to Redding on the Sacramento River. Clear Lake, now in Lake County, was the junction point of the trail leading northwest into the Mendocino and Humboldt regions along the coast, and the trail leading north to the Shasta region. Both trails, said Judge Jones, were followed by trappers for the Hudson's Bay Co., and Jedediah Smith and other explorers made use of the one leading northwestward. By following the trail from Benicia and Berryessa to Shasta, early Spanish settlers virtually made it an extension of the Camino Real.

After the Spanish and Mexicans, came the American settlers with their families and livestock. Many of them found homes around Clear Lake, and some received grants. The speaker named four residents, J. D. Dondero, Arthur Copsey, Alma Akins, and Byrd Herrick — all of them over eighty years of age — who have been members of the Native Sons of the Golden West for from fifty to sixty years, and whose memories, by spanning a large part of the interval from stagecoach and wagon-train days to the present, constitute a living source for the region's history.

To name a few of the persons whose interest in developing the area was stimulated by the early trails and roads: W. D. M. Howard's brother, George H. Howard, who, at the beginning of the 1850's was one of the purchasers of the Lup-Yomi Rancho bordering Clear Lake; Kentucky-born B. F. English and his numerous descendants; the former jurist, S. C. Hastings, who subsequently invested in Lake County land; and one-time Confederate naval captain, Richard S. Floyd (son-in-law of another California jurist, Henry Augustus Lyons), who entered the banking business in Lake County. In summing up the resourcefulness and hardihood of Lake County pioneers, Judge Jones praised like traits in many of their descendants, now citizens of the county.

MAURICE BLOCK *(dir. restorations for Los Angeles State and County Arboretum)*; May 23, 1953; "Architectural Restoration of 'Lucky' Baldwin's 'Queen Anne' Cottage."

When Elias J. Baldwin came to southern California in 1875, he was so impressed with its beauty that, by successive purchases, he acquired a total of 54,000 acres, including Rancho Santa Anita. Gradually since his death in 1909 his holdings have been broken up into towns – that is, all except 120 acres in the heart of the rancho, now the property of the State of California and leased to Los Angeles County for an arboretum.

Of the three buildings still remaining on the tract – an adobe house built by Hugo Reid in 1838, a "Queen Anne" cottage and a carriage-house built by Baldwin in 1881 – the adobe would logically have had preference in any program of preservation, but, because of years of neglect (including the arrival of termites, bats, raccoons, opossums, and bees), the wooden buildings were given first consideration. After consultation with an architect and an engineer, to see how much would be involved in restoring the cottage, work was started in February 1952, first on the tower which was leaning precariously. Removal of decayed elements throughout the cottage, and replacement by new, converted it to its pristine appearance. When the four marble mantlepieces, which had been boxed and stored, were put back into place, "the project was given a great life," said Mr. Block. Then followed restoration of the tile flooring in the hall and around the fireplaces; also the marble floor of the porch. Greatest lift of all came when the stained glass windows (likewise boxed and stored) were put back into the upper panels of all the windows. Original colors of the inside and outside walls were approximated, so that, now, the structure looks as it did when built.

As to the original furnishings, no documentary or other evidence exists, beyond the recollections of a few persons still living who recall a predominance of red and gold in the parlors, and the presence of crystal chandeliers. Analogous furnishings in the Baldwin Hotel in San Francisco may be surmised; but whether Baldwin restrained his luxurious preferences when it came to his "Queen Anne" cottage, and followed, instead the emphasis on simplicity and good workmanship emanating from that English monarch's court (1702-14), we have no exact way of knowing. Certainly the "cottages" erected by the wealthy during the last quarter of the 19th century in Newport, R. I., were palatial enough. Bancroft (*Chronicles of the Builders*, San Francisco, 1892, III, 359) calls it a "little bijou residence." The restoration committee's desire is, as Mr. Block expresses it, "to furnish the place as a pavilion of entertainment in the late Victorian taste, as its builder intended it." Publicity in the local newspapers has resulted in some notable gifts, among them over-mantel mirrors. In spite of the disappearance, from modern homes, of many objets d'art considered essential seventy years ago, it is hoped that those which have survived may find their way, said the speaker, into the cottage, where they "will be a source of pleasure and amusement to future visitors."

Building costs for the restoration have been high. But, having completed the work on the cottage, the committee proposes to continue the furnishing of the interior largely by gift and over an extended period. As the process of recuperation from the financial outlay, so far, progresses, the time is eagerly awaited when restoration of the adobe and the carriage house may be undertaken.

EDWIN S. MOORE *(gen. mgr., Calif. State Automobile Assoc.);* September 17, 1953; "Early Automobiling Days in California."

Unrestricted movement of persons and goods from place to place, Mr. Moore said, has been one of the great problems with which man has wrestled through the ages. Not until the turn of the present century, however, did he achieve a form of personal transportation available to all.

Who was responsible for the motor car? It had a composite birth: "... inventors and thinkers for at least 200 years prior to 1900" were at work, "but it took the thinkers and tinkers of 1850 to 1910" to put the automobile on the road. Even as late as 1889, there was no noun for automobile in the *Century Dictionary;* there was only the adjective, auto-mobile, defined as self-moving.

A passage from one of the minor prophets (*Nahum,* Chap. 2, verse 4) perhaps suggests the coming of present-day traffic: "The chariots ... shall jostle one against another in the broad ways; they shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightnings." Association of mobility along roads with horse-drawn vehicles persisted; when Frank and Charles Duryea, acknowledged inventors of the first gasoline automobile, introduced their model in 1893, it was a standard buggy with a one-cylinder, four-horsepower engine, mounted horizontally under the seat. For the next ten years, in fact, all automobiles were gas-driven *buggies,* complete, even to the socket for the whip, as horse-drawn conveyances except for the shafts. The "jostling" commenced in earnest when Henry Ford and R. E. Olds developed the idea of mass production, placing automobiles almost within the reach of all.

The speaker listed some fifty-two "great dates to remember" in the history of the automobile, subsequent to the year 1900 when the first Madison Square Garden automobile show took place. Among the dates mentioned were the initial appearances of well-known cars; for example, the Cadillac (1903); Buick (1904); Model T Ford (1908) and the introduction of the windshield as an accessory; Dodge (1914); Chrysler (1924). Also among the "firsts" were such dates as 1906, when the Buick added storage batteries as standard equipment; 1910, when the American-LaFrance Fire Engine Co. made its first motor-driven fire-fighting vehicle; 1912, when the world's first 3-color traffic-control light was installed in Detroit, and Detroit police pioneered in giving safety instructions in school classrooms; in 1920 appeared the first U. S. car (the Dusenberg), with a straight-eight engine and four-wheel brakes; 1921, when the first U. S. president, Warren G. Harding, rode to his inauguration in an automobile; in 1923 came the introduction of ethyl gasoline by the Standard Oil Co.; 1928, installation of shatter-proof glass, and of synchromesh gears; 1930, the equipment of police cars with radios; in 1936, the U. S. department of commerce announced that 54 per cent of the nation's families owned cars; 1938, fluid drive introduced for the first time on Chrysler products; and in 1939, the Lincoln led the way in eliminating running-boards. Coming closer to the present decade is March 1940, which saw the first demonstration at Fort Benning, Ga., of a small armed vehicle, resulting in the development of the "Jeep"; in 1948, taxes on the nation's motorists amounted to $3,360,000,000.

As to "firsts" in California: in 1902 came the first recognition, by the assessors of Los Angeles and San Benito counties, that automobiles were items of tangible personal property and should be taxed; in 1905, motor vehicles began to be registered in California—there were then 6,428 in the state. In 1919, engineers, armed with transits and seeking for U. S. 40 the shortest route between Reno and Salt Lake City, found that the cross-country pioneers, with only the keenness of their own eyesight to guide them, had hit upon the precise location. And as construction proceeded along this highway, said the speaker, remnants of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of equipment, abandoned by the gold-seekers in their struggle to cross the sandy wastes of Nevada, were uncovered. No one who now travels across Utah and Nevada, on either U .S. 40 or 50, can help but ponder over the tremendous courage and strength of the earlier wayfarers, with their wagons and their oxcarts, or afoot.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

September 1 to December 1, 1953

Materials of great interest have been contributed by many friends in many places:

Alameda
- Mrs. William G. Paden

Ann Arbor, Mich.
- William L. Clements Library

Belvedere
- Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin

Berkeley
- Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
- Robert T. Legge, M.D.
- Hobart M. Lovett
- Mrs. Rogers Parratt
- Ralph L. Phelps
- Mrs. Clarence A. Shuey
- Mrs. Clotilde Grunsky Taylor
- Miss Emily L. Turner

Eureka
- Howard B. Melendy

Grass Valley
- Mrs. Edna D. Sampson

Honolulu, T. H.
- Miss Azelia L. Winchester

Key West, Florida
- Mrs. W. E. Baughman

Los Angeles
- Miss Ruth Le Prade
- Justin G. Turner
- Eric G. Warner

Menlo Park
- Mrs. Ella Friesleben
- Clarence E. Patty

Mill Valley
- Miss Nora Evans
- Mrs. William McConnell

Merced
- Miss Blanche Galloway

NEVADA CITY
  H. P. Davis
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.
  J. B. Stack
  William Morrow & Co., Inc.
OAKLAND
  Mrs. Ralph Coffey
  Mrs. G. W. Eastman
  Henry J. Kaiser Company
  Harold C. Holmes
  Mrs. Harrison C. Ryker
  A. T. Shine
  Mrs. Reginald F. Walker
PACIFIC GROVE
  Miss Adelaide Taylor
PALO ALTO
  Mrs. Everett M. Calderwood
  Lloyd Carlson
  George L. Harding
  Guy C. Miller
PETALUMA
  Mrs. Leo V. Korbel
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
  Univ. of Pennsylvania Press
PIEDMONT
  Mrs. Chelton Hill
SACRAMENTO
  C. M. Goethe
  Walter E. Stoddard
ST. HELENA
  Miss Ivy M. Loeber
SALINAS
  Mrs. John A. Currie
SAN BERNARDINO
  L. Burr Belden
SAN CARLOS
  Fred H. Drake
SAN DIEGO
  Don Nelson Driese
  Miss Hinda A. Rose
  Philip S. Rush
SAN FRANCISCO
  K. K. Bechtel
  Mrs. Angus Gordon Boggs
  William B. Bosley
  Charles C. Boynton
  Valentine Brookes
  Mrs. Hugh Brown
  Jack L. Burnom
  Robert Burns
  George H. Cabaniss, Jr.
  Walter Carpeneti
  Mrs. William Jay Conroy
  Dario De Benedictis
  Jacques de la Montanya
  Leo Eloesser, M.D.
  Joseph P. Fallon, Sr.
  Mrs. Guy Gilchrist
  Mrs. Hillard Goldstein
  Louis E. Goodman
  Edwin Grabhorn
  Roy D. Graves
  A. Crawford Greene
  Raymond B. Haizlip
  Miss Florence Hazard
  F. Helper
  Fred Herrington
  Miss Josephine Hewitt
  Mrs. Henry Hirsch
  Edward Hohfeld
  W. L. Holloway
  Lloyd Gibbs Howard
  John Howell
  Ernest Ingold
  Mrs. Harold R. Jacobs
  Edgar M. Kahn
  Edward R. Kay
  Miss Florence R. Keene
  Lawton R. Kennedy
  Alexander T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
  Samuel Lilienthal
  Morris Lowenthal
  Mrs. Lorrain B. Mackey
  Robert McWilliams
  J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
  Mrs. John R. Maloney

Martin Mongan
Edward F. O'Day
Richard Prosser
Robert Lee St. Clair
Porter Sesnon
Albert Shumate, M.D.
William H. Smith
Robert G. Sproul, Jr.
Mrs. Richard C. Stratton
Mrs. Alfred S. Tubbs
Rudolph W. Van Norden
Mrs. Dorothy Weiss
Mrs. Roger Williams

San Leandro
  Mrs. Edward P. Schlichtmann

San Lorenzo
  Mrs. Ivy Miller

San Mateo
  Mrs. Georgia Taber Biven

Santa Barbara
  Mrs. Francis Edward Bishop
  Elbert S. Conner
  Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.

Santa Clara
  Edward R. Boland, R.A., S.J.

Santa Monica
  Arturo R. Feliz

Sausalito
  Gene M. Tansey

Sonoma
  O. D. Donnell, Jr.

Sonora
  Mrs. Ruth A. Newport

Stanford
  Howard Allen
  Hayes A. Newby

Stinson Beach
  Mrs. Louise Falkenau Haas

Suisun
  Rodney M. Rulofson

Twentynine Palms
  Harold O. Weight

Washington, D. C.
  Mrs. C. T. Turner

Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Booth, Edmund. Edmund Booth (1810-1905) Forty Niner; the Life Story of a Deaf Pioneer, Including Portions of His Autobiographical Notes and Gold Rush Diary, and Selections From Family Letters and Reminiscences. Stockton, San Joaquin Pioneer and Historical Society, 1953. iii, 72 p. Illus., ports. [Apply to publisher]

Burke, Robert E. Olson's New Deal For California. Berkeley, Univ. of California, 1953. 279 p. Port. $4.00.

Caen, Herbert Eugene. Don't Call It Frisco. Garden City, Doubleday, 1953. 287 p. $3.50.

Caughey, John Walton. California. 2nd ed. N. Y., Prentice-Hall, 1953. 666 p. Plates, maps. $9.00.

Deppe, Ferdinand. Travels in California in 1837. Translated from the German by Gustave O. Arlt. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1953. xiii, 27 p. $5.00.

Drake, Fred H. The History of San Carlos, California, From Portola to First American. [San Carlos? c1953] [12] p. Illus., map, ports. $2.00.

Heffernan, William Joseph. Edward M. Kern; the Travels of an Artist-Explorer. Bakersfield, Kern County Historical Society, 1953. viii, 112 p. Maps, port. $3.50.

Holdredge, Helen. Mammy Pleasant. N. Y., Putnam's [c1953] vi, 311 p. Illus., ports. $4.50.

Jackson, Joseph Henry. My San Francisco. N. Y., Crowell [1953] 42 p. $1.50.

Morgan, Dale L. Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [c1953] 458 p. Illus., map, ports. $4.50.

Mulford, Prentice. Prentice Mulford's Story. Oakland, Biobooks, 1953. 145 p. Illus. $15.00.

Ostrom, Vincent Alfred. Water and Politics; a Study of Water Policies and Administration in the Development of Los Angeles. Los Angeles, Haynes Foundation, 1953. 297 p. Maps. $4.00.

Pinkerton, Robert Eugene. First Overland Mail. N. Y., Random House, 1953. 185 p. Illus. $1.50.

Rojas, Arnold R. California Vaquero. Fresno, Academy Library Guild, 1953. 126 p. Illus., ports. $3.75.

Ruschenberger, W. S. W. Sketches in California, 1836. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1935. xii, 25 p. $5.00.

Stewart, George R., ed. The Opening of the California Trail; the Story of the Stevens Party From the Reminiscences of Moses Schallenberger As Set Down for H. H. Bancroft About 1885. Berkeley, Univ. of California, 1953. viii, 115 p. Illus., maps, ports. $3.75.

Stoddard, Walter E. The First 100 Years of Sacramento Lodge No. 40, F. & A. M. [Sacramento, The Lodge, c1953] 159 p. Illus., ports. [Apply to publisher]

Sutter, Johann Augustus. Pioneers of the Sacramento; a Group of Letters by and About Johann Augustus Sutter, James W. Marshall and John Bidwell. San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1953. 34 p. Map. [$7.50 to members]

Vancouver, George. Vancouver in California, 1792-1794; the Original Account of George Vancouver. Edited and annotated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. Volume I. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1953. xiii, 128 p. $5.00.

Wallace, William Swilling. Antoine Robidoux, 1794-1860; a Biography of a Western Venturer. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1953. x, 59 p. Illus. $5.00.

Weight, Harold O. Lost Mines of Death Valley. Twentynine Palms, Calico Press [c1953] 72 p. Illus., maps, ports. $1.50.

Weight, Harold O. and Lucille. Rhyolite, the Ghost City of Golden Dreams; First-Hand Stories of a Great Nevada Boom. Twentynine Palms, Calico Press, 1953. 32 p. Illus., maps. $1.00.

Westerners, Los Angeles Corral. Westerners Brand Book. Book V. Los Angeles, The Westerners, 1953. 180 p. Illus., maps, ports. $15.00.

Wright, Doris Marion. A Guide to the Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo Documentos para la Historia de California, 1780-1875. Berkeley, Univ. of California, 1953. 264 p. $4.00.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Mrs. Helen Rocca Goss, former editor of the [State of] Washington Historical Records Survey, took her A.B. and M.A. degrees at the University of California, where she was a teaching fellow in political science for two years during the 1920's. In addition to research on the life of her father, Andrew Rocca, at the Bancroft Library, she consulted the newspaper files of the *Union Democrat* in Sonora and those of the *Calistogian* at Calistoga. Mrs. Goss is now living in Alabama.

Donald E. Hargis (Ph.D., Univ. Michigan, 1943) is a native of Minnesota. He has taught at the universities of Oregon and Michigan, and is now assistant professor of speech at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Franklyn Hoyt (Ph.D., Univ. So. Calif., 1951) is audio-visual coordinator at Luther Burbank Jr. High School in Burbank, Calif. His present article is based on the research he did preparatory to writing his Ph.D. thesis, "Railroad Development in Southern California, 1868-1900."

For a biographical note on Earl Pomeroy, *see* this QUARTERLY, June 1950, p. 189, to which should be added the name of his recent book, *Pacific Outpost: American Strategy in Guam and Micronesia* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1951). During 1953-54 he is on leave from the University of Oregon on a Ford Foundation fellowship, part of the year being spent on the Berkeley campus as research associate in history.

By provision of the Ford Foundation, Frederick J. Simoons (M.A., Univ. Calif., 1952) is in Ethiopia, engaged in field work among the tribes of the northern highlands. The results of his study are expected to form the basis for his Ph.D. thesis in geography at Berkeley.

("Among Our New Members" will appear in the March 1954 edition of the QUARTERLY.*)*

We are indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Hutchinson of Santa Barbara for calling our attention to the June 15, 1953, edition of *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, p. 757, in which, in a column headed "Il y a Cent-Ans" (a hundred years ago), a California newspaper is quoted on the progress (la marche progressive) San Francisco had made between 1845 and 1853. Figures are cited showing the increase in the number of vessels; the erection of brick houses and of churches; the shipment of gold dust; the number of daily papers, etc. News items in *La Revue* also refer to the unstable political conditions existing in the Near East. These have a familiar sound today; but if an item on gold shipments from the port of San Francisco should grace tomorrow's front page, the effect on the local public would be unfamiliar, to say the least.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Joseph R. Knowland, *President*
Francis P. Farquhar, *First Vice-President*
Homer D. Crotty, *Second Vice-President*
Ralph H. Cross, *Third Vice-President*
Warren R. Howell, *Secretary*
George L. Harding, *Treasurer*

K. K. Bechtel
Allen L. Chickering
Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Aubrey Drury
A. T. Leonard, Jr.
Robert Watt Miller
William H. Orrick
Carl I. Wheat
Mrs. Dean Witter

Editorial Advisory Committee: Allen L. Chickering, *Chairman;* Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter, *Assistant Chairman;* Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Edgar M. Kahn, Miss Adele Ogden.

Committee on Special Publications: Francis P. Farquhar, *Chairman;* Allen L. Chickering, William W. Clary, George L. Harding, Miss Caroline Wenzel, Carl I. Wheat, Lynn T. White, Jr.

Committee on Membership and Publicity: Aubrey Drury, *Chairman;* Edgar M. Kahn, Joseph R. Knowland, George H. Kress, Miss Else Schilling.

Committee on Luncheon Meetings: Aubrey Drury, *Chairman;* Anson S. Blake, Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Henry C. Collins, Mrs. James Jenkins, Mrs. Gerald D. Kennedy, Loren B. Taber, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann.

Committee on Rooms and Exhibits: Warren Howell, *Chairman;* Mrs. A. J. Bancroft, A. T. Leonard, Jr., Miss Frances M. Molera, Albert Shumate, Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Committee on Historic Names and Sites: A. T. Leonard, Jr., *Chairman;* Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Clarence Coonan, Ralph H. Cross, Rockwell D. Hunt, Edgar B. Jessup.

Committee on Library and Gifts: Ralph H. Cross, *Chairman;* Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Elbert S. Conner, Miss Edith Coulter, Augustin S. Macdonald, Edward Porter Pfingst, A. T. Shine, Paul A. Sinsheimer, Chester W. Skaggs, Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Committee on Finance: George L. Harding, *Chairman;* Kenneth K. Bechtel, Garner A. Beckett, Allen L. Chickering, Colbert Coldwell, Francis P. Farquhar, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann, Mrs. Dean Witter.

Index

California Historical Society

Quarterly

Volume XXXII

1953

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SAN FRANCISCO

INDEX TO VOLUME THIRTY-TWO

Abajian, James de T., librarian's report (1952), 179-80
"The Abbey," 236
Abraham, Charles, 184
Acacia, 246, 247
Acapulco, conditions at (1861), 311
Accolti, Michael, 122, 139
Adalbert (mummer), 109
Admission Day, "Second," 300
Ajax (ship), 191
Akins, Alma, 376
Alabama (Confederate ship), 312
Alcaldes, status of, in California, 294
Alderson, Harry, 29
Alemany, Joseph Sadoc, 122, 127
Alexander, David W., 329, 331, 333, 346
Alta California, 221, 224; quoted, 253-54, 299, 301, 350-61 *passim*
Alvarado, Juan Bautista, 267
American Bible Society, 122-23, 128-29
American Home Missionary Society, 49, 53, 120, 134
American Smelting & Refining Co., 20, 27, 35
American Trust Co., 375
Ames, Alden, 184
Anaheim *Gazette,* 341
Ancelin, S., 107, 108
Anderson, Vance, 12
Anderson & Borton, 12
Andrew Wilson's "Jottings" on Civil War California, *Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes,* by John Haskell Kemble, 209-24, 303-12
Antelope (ship), 223
Arbor Day (1886), 234, 235
Arboretum. *See* Los Angeles State and County Arboretum
Ariel (ship), 312
Armes, William Dallam, quoted, 237-38
Astronomy, in early California, 142
Athenaeum, quoted, 81, 82, 85, 270-71
Atherton, Faxon Dean, 185
Atkins, Mary, seminary of, 90
"Attai." *See* San Francisco, Chinese slave girls in
Atwill, Joseph F., 89
Auchampaugh, Phillip G., 159
Australia, flora of, 245-48, 259; gold from, 273, 274
Automobiling, early, in California (luncheon topic). *See* Moore, Edwin S.
Azalea, near Arcata, 183
Baby, Frank T., 310, 312
Bachelor Valley, 364
Bald Eagle (ship), 209, 212-14, 222
Baldwin, Elias J., 376-78
Baldwin, "Lucky." *See* Baldwin, Elias J.
Bancroft, A. L., 79
Bancroft, Mrs. A. L., 79
Bancroft, George, quoted, 293
Bancroft, Hubert H., diary of niece of, 65-80; scope of works compared to Herbert E. Bolton's, 99-100
Bancroft, Mrs. Hubert H., 65-80 *passim*
"Bandan," 225, 226
Banks, James A., 223
Banning, Phineas, 327-48 *passim*
Baptist Church (1849-54), 51, 120, 139
Barlow, Charles A., 9
Baroilhet, "Monsieur," 110-11
Barr, S. S., 354
Bartleson, John, 198
Bartlett Springs, 364, 369, 371
Bartlett Springs Co., 370
Basey, James, 265
Battle Mountain, 197
Bay City (ship), 366
Bean, Robert, 263-66 *passim*
Bear River, 198, 202
Bear Valley, 364-65
Behr, Hans C., 248
Behr, Hans Herman, 183, 243-62
Behr, Mrs. Hans Herman, 248
Belden, Francis C., 221
Bells, church, 54
Benevolent Friend Society, 119
Benicia, dry dock at, 350, 358
"Benicia Boy." *See* Heenan, John Carmel
Bentley's Miscellany, quoted, 83
Berryessa Valley, 376
"Best Guide to the Gold Mines." *See* Ira J. Willis Guide to the Gold Mines
Bible Society (San Francisco, 1849), 123, 129, 139
Bidwell, John, 198
"The Big Silver," by Dwight L. Clarke, 1-41
Big Valley, 364, 368
Bigler, Henry W., 194-207 *passim*

Bishop's Creek Canyon, 199, 201, 203
"Black Steward." *See* Light, Allen
Blanck, E. L., 27, 29, 30, 37, 41
Block, Maurice, luncheon speaker, 376-78
Blue Lakes Gap, 370
Blue Lakes Toll Road, 364-65
Blue Law Gospel, 124, 131, 136-38 *passim*
Blue Springs, 202
Blythe, J. F., 55
Bobb, Charles V., 37, 40-41
Bohemian Club, 237, 238; facing p. 248; 255, 260
Bohn, Henry G., 74, 77, 78
Bolton of California, by Lawrence Kinnaird, 97-103
Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *See* Bolton of California
Bonnet (mummer), 110
Book of Remembrance, 88-89, 172-73, 278-79, 373-74
Borax, 363
Borax Lake, 365
"Borderlands," 100
Braden, E. B., 10
Brandegee, Katharine. *See* Brandegee, Mrs. Townshend Stith
Brandegee, Townshend Stith, 182
Brandegee, Mrs. Townshend Stith, 180, 182, 183. *See also* Errata
Brannan, Sam, 195, 196
Bread and butter. *See* San Francisco, restaurant specialties in
Breen, Patrick, Sr., 89
Brenham, Charles J., 185
Brierly, Benjamin, 133
British Comment—as of 1849-1852, by S. Laird Swagert, 81-86, 269-75
British Quarterly Review, quoted, 271-72
Broderick, David C., 145-59 *passim,* 217, 223, 295, 313-25
Brother Jonathan (ship), 361
Brown, "Capt.," 205
Brown, "Mr.," 212
Brown, R. W., 354
Browne, G. R. A., 375
Browne, J. Ross, whale-fishery according to, 226
Bruff, J. Goldsborough, 200, 202
Buel, Frederick, 122-23, 128-29
Bunker Hill & Sullivan Mine, 27
Burch, John C., 148, 158
Burnes, James F., 331
Burns, Thomas P., 89
Butler, A. J., 154, 159
Butler, Grace Helen. *See* Maddux, Mrs. Parker Simmons
Butterflies, 249-62 *passim*
Cabetius (mummer), 110
Cache Creek Canyon, 366-67
Cajiers. *See* Raft River
Caldwell, J. McHenry, 141
California, British reports on (1849-52), 81-86, 269-75; foreign population in, 297-99; politics of (1846-60), 291-302; race discrimination in: (general), 297-301 *passim,* (against Chinese), 303-308, 311-12
California Academy of Sciences, 180-85 *passim;* Hans Herman Behr's connection with, 247-62 *passim*
California Botanical Club, 184
California College of Pharmacy, 250-53 *passim,* 256, 257, 261
California, 1846-1860: Politics of a Representative Frontier State, by Earl Pomeroy, 291-302
California Pharmaceutical Society, 250-53 *passim*
California Rand Silver Mine. *See* "The Big Silver"
California Star, 195
California Steam Navigation Co., 223
Californian (Bakersfield), 5
Californios, 298
El Camino Real, 46
Camp, Charles L., 105-106
Campora, Count of, 117, 118; Countess of, 118
Camulos, 185
Canchalagua, 259
Carr, James, quoted, 295-96, 301
Carroll, Jo P., facing p. 1
Carson River, 198, 203
Casey, James P., 221, 224
Cashier Creek. *See* Raft River
Cassia. *See* Raft River
Castle, Anne. *See* Moore, Mrs. Joseph
Castro, José, 265
Casua. *See* Raft River
Casus. *See* Raft River
Catholic Church (1849-54), 49-56 *passim,* 119-44 *passim;* (1868), 165; (1895-1922), 186
Cattle, effect of, on local flora, 259-60
Cavière (acrobat), 110-11

Ceres (ship), 106
Chambers Edinburgh Journal, quoted, 82
Chickering, Allen L., "Foreword" to THE OLD OCCIDENTAL, 57; obit. of Parker Simmons Maddux, 374-75; obit. of Henry Foster Dutton, 375
Children, in early mining towns, 141
Chiles, Joseph C., 197-99, 203, 207
China Mail, quoted, 209-24, 303-12
Chinese, attitude toward religion, 137; treatment of, on *Bald Eagle* (1861), 209, 213-14, 222. *See also* California, race discrimination in
Chinese Mission (Presbyterian), 130
Chinese Six Companies, 304-305, 312
Chipley, "Colonel," 334, 337, 347
Chipman, Mrs. Bernice, 9
"Chivalry" Democrats, 223
Christ, Frederick, 265, 266
Chrysopolis (ship), 223
Churches, in California, 49-56 *passim*, 119-44 *passim*, 163-65. *See also* under separate denominations
City of Lakeport (ship), 365-66
City of the Rocks, 199, 203
Civil War California. *See* Wilson, Andrew
Clappe, Louise Amelia Knapp, 125, 140
Clarke, Dwight L., author of "THE BIG SILVER," 1-41; 93-94 (biog. note)
Clayton, Charles, guide by, 199-200
Clear Lake and Bartlett Springs Road, 369
Clear Lake region, early trails of, 376; electric power from, 369; mineral springs in, 365-66, 370; transportation routes in, 363-71
Cobb Mountain, 370
Colby, William E., 34
Coleman, Murray N., 31, 32
Coleman, William T., 149-50, 200
Colm, W. W., 9, 37, 41
Coloma, 124
Columbia (ship), 360, 361
Columbia, churches in, 51, 55, 127, 139; schools in, 128; lyceum in, 130, 135; temperance movement in, 130-32
Columbia College (Eugene, Ore.), 240
Community centers, churches as, 123-24
Congregational Church (1849-54), 49-56 *passim*, 119-44 *passim*
Conness, John, 147, 151, 159
Consumnes. *See* Cosumnes
Constitution (ship), 361
Cook, H. D., 354
Coolbrith, Ina, 235, 237
Coons, Edith F., 1-41 *passim*
Copsey, Arthur, 376
Coronel, Antonio Franco, 339
Corruption, political, 322
Cosumnes River, 196
Courrier de San Francisco, 115
Coyote, mining claim, 29-30, 33-36 *passim*
Crescent City, 161-70
Crescent City and Yreka Plank & Turnpike Co., 163
Crescent City *Courier*, 163
Crescent City *Herald*, 161-70 *passim*
Crescent Social Club, 168
Cricket (ship), 338
Crites, Angus J., 9
Crittenden, A. P., 148, 158
Crosby, Elisha Oscar, 126
CULTURAL DIGGINGS AT CRESCENT CITY IN THE 'FIFTIES, by Frances T. McBeth, 161-70
Curran, "Mrs.," 254
Curry, John, 159
Curtis, Elizabeth. *See* O'Sullivan, Mrs. Denis
Daily True Standard, 108
Dana, Richard H., quoted, 327
Darling, A. W., 239
Darwin, Charles, impact of evolutionary theory of, on San Francisco, 251, 253-54
Davy, J. Burtt, 258
Dayton, Nev., 197, 203
Deal, David, 55, 132
Deal, Mrs. David, 55, 126-27
Debates, Broderick-Gwin (1859), issues in, 313-25
Deep Creek, 202
Del Norte Investigator, 163
Del Norte Record, 168
Democratic party, 145-59, 185, 295, 298-302 *passim*, 313-25 *passim*
Denver, James W., 148-49, 158, 224
Derbec, Etienne, 112-15 *passim*, 301
Derby, Emma C., diary of, 65-80
DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION ROUTES IN THE CLEAR LAKE AREA, by Frederick J. Simoons, 363-71
Diehl, Israel S., 132-33
Dillon, Patrice, 113, 114
"Disunited States," 216
Dockweiler, Henry, 339
Dodson Toll Road, 364

Dominguez, Manuel, 331, 340
Dominguez Hill, 330
Dondero, J. D., 376
Donner Party, 195-96
Douglas, Robert David, 272
Douglass, H. L., 354
Downey, John G., 216, 223, 328, 330, 331, 345
Downieville, 134
Dryden, David A., 131
Dunn, Jane. *See* Dutton, Mrs. Henry Foster
Dunphy, 197
Durbin, J. P., 120, 121
Dutton, Henry, 375
Dutton, Mrs. Henry, 375
Dutton, Henry Foster, IN MEMORIAM, 375
Dutton, Mrs. Henry Foster, 375
Dutton, William J., 375
Dye, Job Francis, quoted, 264, 265, 268; 267
East Lake (ship), 366
Eastwood, Alice, 180-85, 247, 256, 258, 262
Echo du Pacifique, 112, 114, 116, 301
Edmunds, Emily Ann. *See* Hutchings, Mrs. James Mason
Education, in mines, 127-28. *See also* Schools
Edward, H. F., 214, 222
Edwards, Mrs. Hugh, 168
Eisen, Gustave, 183
Eldridge, Benjamin, 90
Eldridge, Mrs. Eliza, 90
Eleonore (mummer), 109
Elevator, at Occidental Hotel, 59-60
Ellison, William Henry, quoted, 264
Emigrant Spring, 202
Emigration, stimulation of, by gold discoveries, 273
Emma (ship), 365
English, B. F., 376
Epperson Toll Road, 364-65
ERRATA, 397
Erythea, a Journal of Botany . . ., 258-59
Esdon, Alexander, diaries and account books of, 90
Esdon, Erskine E., 90
Estell, James M., 147-59 *passim*
Etienne, Mrs. E. J., 248, 261-62
Eucalyptus, 245-47 *passim*, 256
Eugene [Ore.] *Review, Register, Guard*, 231
Evans, Israel, 195
Evans, Morris, 130, 135
Eyre, Edward Engle, 185
Eyre, Florence Atherton, 185
Fall, "Mr.," 337
Fairs, church, 126-27, 140
"Fashion," Sacramento hotel, 148
"Fay" (headwaiter at Occidental Hotel), 58, 62
Fechtig, B. Y., 161, 162
Fence, in cultural landscape, 94
Ferguson, Charles, 127
Field, Charles K., 237
Field, Stephen J., 148, 151, 158; quoted, 296, 301
Finance, J. B., 108
Fish, Isaac B., 52, 123, 128-42 *passim*
Fitch, George K., 224
Fitzgerald, O. P., 122
Flatiron Mountain, 199
Flint, E., 357-59 *passim*
Florence, 342
Floyd, Richard S., 376
Flying Fish (ship), 222
Folsom, 218-19
Fort Hall, 197, 199
Fort Hall Road, 201
Fort Ross, 44
Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, quoted, 273, 274
Freaner, U. B., 161-63 *passim*
Frémont, John C., 197, 199
French Society in the 1850's. *See* Wagner, Blanche Collet
French Theater (San Francisco), 109
Frontier, 43-56, 291-302
Fuller, Juan Casimiro, 235
Gantner Bros., 260-61
Gauthier, Frederick, 113
Gazette Republicaine, 106, 107
Geary, John W., quoted, 295, 301
Genoa (Nev.), 196
Gerberding, C. O., 224
Gibbons, A. S., 54-55, 132
Gibson, F. W., 331
GIFTS OF RECOGNITION, 277, 372
GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY, 89-92, 185-88, 280-82, 379-81
Gilbert, Edward, 221, 224
Gold discoveries, as reported in England, 81-86, 270-75
Golden Age (ship), 209
Golden Gate (ship), 349-61
Golden Gate International Exposition, 184
Golden Gate Park, 183-84

Golden Rock Water Co., 359
Goldfield Consolidated Mining Co., 31
Goliah (ship), 352-60 *passim*
Gonzales Rubio, J. M. de Jesús, 122
Goose Creek, 199, 203, 206
Gordon, J. P., 170
Goss, Helen Rocca, author of An Ill-Starred Voyage, *The S.S. Golden Gate, January 1854*, 349-61; 383 (biog. note)
Grace Episcopal Church, 122
Grady, Edward T., 6-41 *passim*
Grady, Mrs. Henry F., 185
Graham, Isaac, 264-65, 266
Granite Pass, 199, 203
Grass Valley, 124-44 *passim*
Gravelly Ford, 197
Gravelly Valley, 364
Gray, Asa, 251, 255
Great Salt Lake. *See* Salt Lake
Great Western Quicksilver Mine, 359
Greene, E. L., 254
Greenwood, Caleb, 197
Gregoire, Louis, 112-13
Griffin, John S., 328
"Grizzlies," 375
Grizzly Canyon, 370
Grubler, S. H., 162
Guerra, Pablo de la, 159
Guide books, 193, 199-200
Gunn, Lewis C., 129-30
Gunn, Mrs. Lewis C., 126, 127, 129
Guthrie, Alfred B., 263
Gwin, William M., 145-59 *passim*, 295, 313-25
Hahnemann, Samuel C. F., 243
Hale, J. G., 124
Halfway House, 328
Hallie (ship), 366
Hammond, George P., 99
Hanchett, William, author of The Question of Religion and the Taming of California, 1849-1854, 49-56, 119-44; 94 (biog. note)
Hangtown. *See* Placerville
Hannah (ship), 354
Hans Herman Behr, by Robert T. Legge, M.D., 243-62
Hansel Springs, 202
Hargis, Donald E., author of The Issues in the Broderick-Gwin Debates of 1859, 313-25; 383 (biog. note)
Hargraves, E. H., 273
Harkness, Harvey W., 257
Harmon, Silas S., quoted, 53, 125-44 *passim*
Harmon, Mrs. Silas S., 128
Harrell, Alfred, 5-41 *passim*
Harris, Townsend, 212, 222
Harte, Bret, quoted, 233
Hastings, S. C., 376
Hastings' Cutoff, 199-201 *passim*
Haun, D. L., 223
Hauser, George, 331
Hayden, Ferdinand Vandeveer, 182
Haynes, J. P., 170
Heath, R. W., 354
Hector (ship), 105
Heenan, John Carmel, 218, 223
Heiser, Charles L., quoted, 296-97, 301
Heizer, Robert F., ed., Techniques and Implements of the American Whale-Fishery, 225-29
Helen Mine, 359
Hellman, Isaias W., 331, 333
Hensley, Samuel J., 197, 199
"Heritier," 301
Herrick, Byrd, 376
Hewitt, E. E., 341, 346; quoted, 335, 336
Heydenfeldt, Solomon, 145, 148, 157
"High grading," 18-20
Highland Springs-Pieta Toll Road, 364
"The Hights," 237
Hill, J. B., quoted, 52-53
Hill, W. H., 9
Hinsly. *See* Hensley
Hittell, Theodore H., quoted, 264
Hodge, Frederick Webb, 97-98
Holy Cross Cemetery, 261
Homestead system, 322
Hoogs, ——, 107
Hooper, George, 191
Hooper, Joseph G., 191
Hooper, Mrs. Joseph G., 191
Hooper, William B., 57
Hoover, Mrs. I. J., 167-68
Hot Spring Valley, 203, 206
Hotaling, Richard, 237
The "Hounds," 294, 297
Household Words, quoted, 269-70
Houses, iron, disadvantages of, 269-70
Howard, "Mrs," 111, 114
Howard, George H., 376
Howard, O. O., 234

Howard, V. E., 334, 337, 347
Howland, Mrs. Francis Ames, 184. *See also* ERRATA
Hoyt, Franklyn, author of THE LOS ANGELES & SAN PEDRO: FIRST RAILROAD SOUTH OF THE TEHACHAPIS, 327-48; 383 (biog. note)
Hughes, J. A., 9, 20, 28, 41
Humboldt River, 199, 203, 207
Humboldt Sink, 197, 198, 203
Hunt, Timothy Dwight, 133, 137, 165
Huserne, "Madame," 118
Hutchings, James Mason, 193, 194
Hutchings, Mrs. James Mason, 193
Hutson, Wilford, 195
I. O. O. F. *See* International Order of Odd Fellows
ILL-STARRED VOYAGE, *The S.S. Golden Gate, January 1854*, by Helen Rocca Goss, 349-61
Illinois Valley (Ore.), 163
Illustrated London News, quoted, 81, 83, 84, 269, 270
IN MEMORIAM, 374-75
Indian Valley, 364, 376
International Order of Odd Fellows, 137, 169-70
Iowa Hill, 133, 143
THE IRA J. WILLIS GUIDE TO THE GOLD MINES, *edited, with an Introduction*, by Irene D. Paden; *Foreword* by Carl P. Russell, 193-207
Iredale, A. S., 169
Irish, John P., 235, 238
Isham, J. B. G., quoted, 350-61 *passim*
THE ISSUES IN THE BRODERICK-GWIN DEBATES OF 1859, by Donald E. Hargis, 313-25
Isthmus (ship), 353
Isthmus of Panama, crossing of (1861), 310-11
Ives, W. H., 121, 139
Jackson, 128
Jameson, J. M., 2-41 *passim*
Jarves, J. J., 106
Jarvis. *See* Jarves, J. J.
Jefferson, T. H., 199-200
Jeffrey, John, 165, 168, 249
Jepson, W. L., 258
Jesuits, in California, 122, 139
"Jinks" papers, 255, 260. *See also* Bohemian Club
Jirokichi, author of TECHNIQUES AND IMPLEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN WHALE-FISHERY, 225-29
THE JOAQUIN MILLER FOUNDATION, by William W. Winn, 231-41
Jocelyn, Stephen P., author of THE OLD OCCIDENTAL, 57-64; 94 (biog. note)
Johannesburg. *See* Kramer-Johannesburg
John T. Wright (ship), 223
Jones, Benjamin C., luncheon speaker, 376
Jones, Thomas ap Catesby, 293
Jordan, David Starr, 260
Jornada del Muerto, 43
Joshua Hendy Iron Works, 32
Juanita, mining claim, 4, 5, 11-13 *passim*
Judah, Theodore D., 223
Jules, Victor, 117
Julia Ann (ship), 366
KCN, mining claims, 2, 3, 5
Keller, Matthew, 328, 330
Kellogg, Albert, 182, 184, 249, 254, 258
Kelly, Mrs. Ida M. *See* Kelly, Mrs. John W.
Kelly, John W., 1-41 *passim*
Kelly, Mrs. John W., 17, 20, 24-27 *passim*, 41
Kelly Mine, 1, 14
Kemble, John Haskell, ed., ANDREW WILSON'S "JOTTINGS" ON CIVIL WAR CALIFORNIA, 209-24, 303-12; 285 (biog. note)
Kern County, oil operators in, 9, 27; *see also* Rand Mining district
Kewen, E. J. C., 327
King, James, 221, 224
King, John, 328, 333, 338
King, Thomas Starr, quoted, 298-99
Kinnaird, Lawrence, author of BOLTON OF CALIFORNIA, 97-103; 190 (biog. note)
Kip, William I., 125; quoted, 350-61 *passim*
Kit Carson Pass, 196
Kitty Kelly (ship), 366
Klamath Lodge No. 41, 169-70
Klipstein, Henry W., Jr., 39, 40
Know-Nothing party, 145-46
Knowland, Joseph R., 174-76
Kramer-Johannesburg branch (Santa Fe R.R.), 7
"Kumpanee Houses." *See* Chinese Six Companies
Lacy, Edward S., 164-65
Laglaise (mummer), 110
Lakeport, 366
Land-grant colleges, 322
Lander, James H., quoted, 327-48 *passim*
Lane, Crawford & Co., 220, 224

Langlois, Anthony, 122
Latham, James H., 150
Latham, M. S., 145-59
Lassen Trail, 203
Latter Day Saints, Church of Jesus Christ of, 196, 204
Lawley Toll Road, 369
Lawson, Andrew C., 37
Layard, Austen H., quoted, 303, 311
Lecompton constitution, 314, 320-23 *passim*
Leek Springs, 207
Legge, Robert T., author of HANS HERMAN BEHR . . ., 243-62
Legislature, scenes in (1861), 216
Leland, Abbie M. *See* Miller, Mrs. Joaquin
Leonard, Zenas, 266-67
Lepidoptera. *See* Butterflies
Lepreux, ——, 115-16
Librarian's Report (1952), 179-80
Libraries, 169
Lick, James, 257-58
Liebert, A., 108, 109
Light, Allen, 267
Lime Point, fortification of, 318-19, 322-24 *passim*
Lobb, William, 249
Long, W. H., *pseud. See* Ives, W. H.
Long Valley, 364, 376
Loomis, Augustus W., 304, 311
Los Angeles (ship), 338
THE LOS ANGELES & SAN PEDRO: FIRST RAILROAD SOUTH OF THE TEHACHAPIS, by Franklyn Hoyt, 327-48
Los Angeles *News,* quoted, 328-48 *passim*
Los Angeles *Star,* quoted, 332-48 *passim*
Los Angeles State and County Arboretum, 376-78
Los Angeles Terminal R.R., 344
Lower Lake, 365-66, 368, 369
Lumbering, early day, in Sierra Nevada, 191
Lup-Yomi Rancho, 376
Lyceums, 129-30, 137, 168-70
Lyons, Henry Augustus, 376
M. S. LATHAM AND THE SENATORIAL CONTROVERSY OF 1857, by William F. Thompson, Jr., 145-59
McBeth, Frances T., author of CULTURAL DIGGINGS AT CRESCENT CITY IN THE 'FIFTIES, 161-70; 190 (biog. note)
McCombe, John, 169
McCosma. *See* Cosumnes
McCorkle, Joseph W., 146-59 *passim*
McDiarmid, Finley, quoted, 201-202 *passim*
McDougall, James A., 147, 148, 157. *See also* ERRATA
McKibben, Joseph C., 159
McKinney, James, 2
McLaren, John, 183
MacLean, John Douglas, 191
MacLean, Mrs. John Douglas, 191
Maddux, Parker Simmons, IN MEMORIAM, 374-75
Maddux, Mrs. Parker Simmons, 375
Madigan, "Mrs.," 331
"Magic Carpet," 184
"Magnolia," Sacramento hotel, 148, 152-53
Mahoney, David, 147, 152-53, 159
Malad Creek, 202, 205
Man, Charles, 193
Manzanita, on Mount Tamalpais, 183
MARGINALIA, 93-95, 190-91, 285-86, 383
Maricopa, oil field in, 9
Mariposa, gold specimens from, 273-74
Marshall, James W., 194, 195, 292-93
Martin, Ephraim, 195
Martin, Jesse B., 195
Martins Fork, 206
Mary's River, 197, 201, 206, 207
Marysville, transient population of, 296
Mason, Edgar, Jr., 163, 167, 168
"Massachusetts of the Pacific," California in role of, 136
Massey, Ernest de, appendix to journal of, 105-18
Mayacmas, 365
MEETINGS, 180-82, 376-79
Mercantile Trust Co., 375
Meroney, Charles S., 26, 30, 32, 39, 40
Merritt, Samuel M., 148, 158
Methodist Book Concern, 128
Methodist Church, 49-56 *passim*, 119-44 *passim*, 165, 168. *See also* Southern Methodists
Methodist Missionary Society, 120
Micheltorena, Manuel, 265
Michigan City, 133
Miller, Cincinnatus Heine. *See* Miller, Joaquin
Miller, Juanita, 235-41 *passim*
Miller, Joaquin, 231-41
Miller, Mrs. Joaquin, 233-41 *passim*
"Milton Slocum Latham Papers," 158 ff
Mineral springs. *See* Clear Lake region; Hot Spring Valley; Warm Spring

Mining, in southern California, 1-41, 344
Mint Canyon, 12, 30, 38
Mirandol, ——, 107
Missionaries, 44, 46, 49-56 *passim,* 119-44 *passim*
Mocozamy. *See* Cosumnes
Mojave Desert, 1-41 *passim*
Mokelumne Hill, 52, 130, 134-36 *passim*
Mokelumne River, 196
Monroe Doctrine, death of, 101-102
Montez, Lola, 126
Moore, "Rev.," 132
Moore, Edwin S., luncheon speaker, 378-79
Moore, Joseph, 191
Moore, Mrs. Joseph, 191
Moore, Joseph Alexander, 191
Moore, Mrs. Joseph Alexander, 191
Moore Dry Dock Co., 191
Moorman, Madison Berryman, 196; quoted, 201
Morcou, Baron de, 117
Moreau, E., 111-14 *passim*
Morey, N. E., 169
Morgan Valley, 370
Mormon Battalion, 194-207 *passim*
Mormon Church, 51. *See also* Latter Day Saints, Church of Jesus Christ of
Mormon Diggings, 195
Mormon Island, 195
Morris, George, 191
Morris, Winnie Sarah. *See* MacLean, Mrs. John Douglas
Morrison, Murray, 336-37
Mountain Meadows, massacre at, 322, 325
"Mud Creek." *See* Malad Creek
Mueller, Ferdinand von, 246-47
Munie, Alexander, 110
Munie, Mme Alexander, 110
Murphy, John M., 197
Murray, E. F., quoted, 263-64, 267
Names, geographic, distribution of, in California, 43-48
Naturalization, question of (1859), 316-17, 322-23
Naylor, E. Y., 170
Negro. *See* California, race discrimination in
Nevada (ship), 223
Nevada City, churches in, 54, 55, 125-44 *passim*
NEW MEMBERS, 87, 171, 277, 372
New San Pedro, 345
New York *Herald,* quoted, 295
Newell, Mrs. Gwendolan, 247. *See also* ERRATA
Newmark, Harris, quoted, 331, 345
NEWS OF THE SOCIETY, 87-92, 171-88, 277-82, 372-81
Nickels, Edward C., 212, 222
Nidever, George, note on, 263-68
Nidever, Mark, 265, 266
North Beach Nursery, 184
Northern Light (ship), 209, 310, 312
NORTHERNMOST SPANISH FRONTIER IN CALIFORNIA, by H. F. Raup and William B. Pounds, Jr., 43-48
Nosser, J. J., 1-41 *passim*
NOTE ON GEORGE NIDEVER, A "CLEAN-LIVING AND UPRIGHT" TRAPPER, by Virginia Thomson, 263-68
Nugent, John, 216-17, 223
O'Sullivan, C. D., 191
O'Sullivan, Denis, 191, 287
O'Sullivan, Mrs. Denis, 191
Oakland *Tribune,* quoted, 238, 241
Oaks (live), pests on, 256-57
Occidental Hotel, 57-64
Ogden, Utah, 202
Ogden River, 207
Olcese, Louis V., 17-18, 27, 41
THE OLD OCCIDENTAL, by Stephen P. Jocelyn, 57-64
Olden, William R., 341
Omylska, Agnes. *See* Behr, Mrs. Hans Herman
Ordemann, C. C., 354
Oregon Trail, 198, 199
"Orleans," Sacramento hotel, 148, 154
Owen, Isaac, 120, 121, 128
Pacific, quoted, 119, 122, 126
Pacific Banner, quoted, 123, 130
Pacific Mail S.S. Co., 149; accommodation provided by (1861), 308-10; 322, 349-62
Pacific R.R. Act (1862), 300
Pacific Rural Press, quoted, 253
Paden, Irene D., ed., THE IRA J. WILLIS GUIDE TO THE GOLD MINES, 193-207
Page, Daniel D., 354
Pardow, Mary. *See* Hooper, Mrs. Joseph G.
Parratt, Edna Martin. *See* Parratt, Mrs. Rogers
Parratt, Mrs. Rogers, Yreka symposium speaker, 175
Party affiliation (1858-59), question of, 320-21, 323

Pass Creek Canyon, 207
Patronage, political (1857), 146-59 *passim*
Patterson, C. P., 350, 359
Pellet, Sarah, 131
Pfeiffer, Ida, 125
Phillips, Violet. *See* Dutton, Mrs. Henry Foster
Picpus fathers, 50, 122, 139
Pierpont, James, 54, 124
Pierpont, Mrs. James, 54
Pilot Peak, 202
Pilot River, 197
Pilot Springs, 202
Pindell, J. M., 151-52, 158
Pittman Act, 19, 23-24
Placerville, 124, 196, 203
Planel, "Madame," 118
Pleasant Valley, 196, 207
Politics, frontier, 291-302; state (1857), 145-59; (1859), 313-25
Polk, James K., quoted, 293-94
"La Polka," 110-11
Pomeroy, Earl, author of CALIFORNIA, 1846-1860: POLITICS OF A REPRESENTATIVE FRONTIER STATE, 291-302; 383 (biog. note)
Pomeroy, T. S., 162-63
Pond, William C., 134
Pope & Talbot, 375
Porter, Robert, 184
Potter Valley, 364
Pounds, William B., Jr., co-author of NORTHERNMOST SPANISH FRONTIER IN CALIFORNIA, 43-48; 94-95 (biog. note)
Precht, Carl, M.D., 248, 261-62
Precht, Mrs. Carl, 248, 261-62
Precht, Ida. *See* Precht, Mrs. Carl
Precht, Ida, Jr. *See* Etienne, Mrs. E. J.
Presbyterian Church, 49-56 *passim*, 119-44 *passim*, 164-65
President's Report (1952), 174-76
Prevaux, Francis, 127-28, 133-34
Privateers, during Civil War, 309, 312
Promontory, 300
Protestants, 49-56 *passim*, 119-44 *passim*
Public Balance, E. de Massey's connection with, 106-108 *passim*
Punch, 83-84; quoted, 270-73 *passim*
Putah Creek, 376
Quarterly Review, quoted, 272, 275
"Queen Anne" cottage, restoration of (luncheon topic). *See* Block, Maurice
QUESTION OF RELIGION AND THE TAMING OF CALIFORNIA, by William Hanchett, 49-56, 119-44.
Quicksilver, 359, 363-66 *passim*
Quintin, Vincent, 108-109; family of, 109 (note)
Race discrimination. *See* California, race discrimination in
Racine (mummer), 109
Raft River, 202-203
Raft River Mountains, 202-203, 205
Railroad, first south of the Tehachapis. *See* Los Angeles & San Pedro . . .
Ramirez, "Conchita" Fuller, quoted, 235
Ramsay, G. S., 165-67 *passim*
"Rancho de San Pascual," 345
Rand (California), mining district, 1-41
Rand Divide Mining Co., 14
Randsburg, 1-41 *passim*
Rats, at Occidental Hotel, 57, 62
Rattlesnake Island, 340
Raup, H. F., co-author of NORTHERNMOST SPANISH FRONTIER IN CALIFORNIA, 43-48; 94-95 (biog. note)
RECENT CALIFORNIANA, 92-93, 188-89, 283-84, 381-82
Red Lake, 207
Red Mountain, 2-3, 31
Registration, of automobiles, 379
Religion, question of, in taming of California, 49-56, 119-44
Republican party, 299-300, 307, 323
Revenue cutter. See *Wm. L. Marcy*
La Revue des Deux Mondes, quoted, 383
Rich Bar, 125
Richardson, William, location of residence of, 89
Rocca, Andrew, 349-61 *passim*
Rolph, Mildred T. *See* Moore, Mrs. Joseph Alexander
Roncoviery (mummer), 110
Rowdy Creek, 168
Royce, Josiah, quoted, 138
Royce, Sarah, quoted, 200-201; 202
Royer, Frank W., 40
Ruby Range, 198
Rumsey, 366, 370
Russell, Carl P., 193
Russian River Valley, 368
Sabin, Wallace A., 238
Sacramento (1861), 216-18

"Sacramento Bill." *See* Colm, W. W.
Sacramento *Daily Union*, quoted, 299, 301, 313-25 *passim*
Sacramento River, steamers on (1861), 217-18, 223
Sacramento Valley R.R., 218, 223
Saint Boniface's Church, 261
Saint Joseph (ship), 109
Salaries, federal, 317-18, 322-23
Salmon Trout River, 198, 207
Salt Desert, 202
Salt Lake City, 194-207 *passim*
San Diego *Union*, quoted, 335
San Francisco, appearance of crowds in (1861), 219, 221; Chinese slave girls in, 305-306; cost of living in (1861), 220-21; flora in vicinity of, 255-60 *passim;* newspapers in, 221, 224; restaurant specialties in, 219-20; transient population of, 296
San Francisco & Clear Lake R.R., 368
San Francisco Bank, 375
San Francisco *Bulletin*. *See* San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*
San Francisco *Chronicle*, quoted, 237, 243, 248
San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, 221, 224; quoted, 147, 149, 150, 253, 299, 302
San Francisco *Examiner*, quoted, 237, 260-61
San Francisco *Herald*, 223; quoted, 296, 349-61 *passim*
San Luis Obispo *Tribune*, quoted, 335
San Pascual. *See* "Rancho de San Pascual"
San Pedro, first rail connection of, with Los Angeles, 327-48
Sanborn, Mrs. Elizabeth, 141
Savings Union Bank & Trust Co., 375
Sawyer, Lorenzo, 200
Schools, 127-28, 137, 141, 165-68. *See also* Sunday Schools.
Schumacker, John, 330
Scott, Charles L., 146-59 *passim*. *See also* ERRATA
Scott, Laurence, 375
Scott, William A., opposed to Committee of Vigilance (1856), 134, 139
Scott Valley (Lake County), 364
"Scrimshawing," 229
Seamen's Friend Society, 119
Searby, William M., 250
Secret Pass, 198
Security Trust Co. (Bakersfield), 5-41 *passim*
Selby Smelter, 10, 18, 19, 24, 27
Sessions, Kate, 184
Shirley Letters. *See* Clappe, Louise Amelia Knapp
Showalter, Daniel, 147-48, 158
Silk worm, experiments in culture of, 249, 253
Sill, Benjamin H., 17, 28, 34, 41
Silver, mining of, 1-41
Silver Saddle Lease, mining claim, 15
Silver Zone Pass, 198
Simmons, John C., 55, 128, 130
Simonton, James W., 224
Simoons, Frederick J., author of DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION ROUTES IN THE CLEAR LAKE AREA, 363-71; 383 (biog. note)
Slave girls. *See* San Francisco, Chinese slave girls in
Slavery, question of (1859), 315-16
Sloane, William, quoted, 263; 267
Sloat, John D., 293, 300
Sly, James, 195
Smiley, Thomas I., 149-50
Smith, Jedediah, 376
Smith, Seth, 126
Smithwick, Mrs. Charles A., 9
Snowville, 202
Soda Bay, 366
Solomon, P. L., 146, 148
SOME PHASES OF FRENCH SOCIETY IN SAN FRANCISCO IN THE 'FIFTIES, *Appendix to the Journal of Ernest de Massey*, tr. by Blanche Collet Wagner, with an Introduction by Henry R. Wagner, 105-18
Sonora (ship), 209, 312; bill-of-fare of (1861), 310
Sonora, churches in, 53, 125, 138; religious education in, 128-29; lyceum in, 129; temperance movement in, 131-32; Vigilante movement in, 135
Sons of Temperance, 131-32, 136-37, 143
Sorbier, Cecile M., 186
Southern Methodists, 120 ff, 139
Southern News, quoted, 327, 344
Southern Pacific R.R., 342-44, 366-67, 369
Southerner (ship), 353, 360-61
Spanish Camp, 376
Spanish Creek, 376
Spanish frontier, northernmost in California, 43-48
Sparrow (English), introduction of, into California, 257, 258
Speer, William, 130

Spring, Francis S., 236, 238-39
Spring Creek Mining Co., 359
Springfield, temperance movement in, 132
Stanford, Leland, quoted, 299, 302
Stearns, Abel, 327
Steeple Rocks, 199, 203, 206
Stephens, Henry Morse, 98, 99
Stevens, Elisha, 197
Stewart, H. J., 238
Stone House, 376
Stoney Creek, 376
Stoney Ford, 376
Stoneman, George, 341
Stranger's Friend Society, 119
Strawberries. *See* San Francisco, restaurant specialties in
Stockton, Robert F., "organic act" issued by, 293
Suisun, Berryessa & Clear Lake R.R. Co., 366
Suisun Gun Club, 375
Suisun Marsh, 375
Sulphur, 363
Sulphur Bank, 365, 366
Sulphur Creek, 365
Sunday Schools, 128
Sutro, Adolph, quoted, 234-35; 262
Sutter's Fort, 194, 207
Swagert, S. Laird, author of British Comment – as of 1849-1852, 81-86, 269-75; 95 (biog. note)
Talbot, Mary. *See* Dutton, Mrs. Henry
Talbot, William Chaloner, 375
Taperin, ——, 111-14 *passim*
Tassin, ——, 116
Taxes, on automobiles, 378-79
Tay (ship), 84
Taylor, Bayard, quoted, 297, 301
Taylor, William, 135, 136
Techniques and Implements of the American Whale-Fishery, *From an Early Japanese Account*, ed. by Robert F. Heizer; tr. by Hitoshi Watanabe, 225-29
Teller, John de P., 238
Temple, F. P., 331
Temple, John, 340
Temperance, movement in favor of, 130-33, 137
Territories, in U. S., 291-302, 315-16 *passim*
"Territory of California," 293
Terry, David S., 223
Texas & Pacific R.R., 343-44, 348
Thierry (mummer), 110
Thom, C. E., 332
Thomas Hunt (ship), 358
Thompson, William F., Jr., author of M. S. Latham and the Senatorial Controversy of 1857, 145-59; 190 (biog. note)
Thoms Creek, 376
Thomson, Virginia, author of Note on George Nidever . . ., 263-68; 286 (biog. note)
Thousand Springs Valley, 199,203
Tichenor, H. B., 327-48 *passim*
Tilford, Frank, 147, 151-59 *passim*
Toana Range, 198
Toland Hall, 251
Toll roads, in Clear Lake area, 364-65, 369
Torrey, Delia C., 90
Toussaint, ——, 116
Townsend, John, 197
Tragedy Springs, 196
Trappers, 263-68
Treasure Island, 184
Treasurer's Report (1952), 177-79
Trowbridge, Mrs. ——, 128
Truckee River, 195-207 *passim*
Twin Sisters, 203
Twin Valleys, 364
Uncle Sam (ship), 355, 356, 361
Union (American), supporters of, 299-300
Union Club (1861), 215, 221, 223
Union Pacific R.R., 368-69
Upper Clear Lake. *See* Upper Lake
Upper Lake, 364
"Uranium" mining claims, 4, 5, 29, 33, 34
"V. Q." *See* Quintin, Vincent
Vail, E. J., 165, 167
Valle, Reginaldo F. del, papers of, 185
Vallejo, Mariano G., 235
Vaquero (ship), 361
Ver Mehr, John L., 122
Vigilantes, churches' attitude toward movement, 133-34; Democrats' attitude toward committee, 149-50
Volcano, Methodist church at, 55
Wadsworth, Nev., 203
Wagner, Blanche Collet. *See* Wagner, Mrs. Henry R.
Wagner, Harr, 234
Wagner, Henry R., 44, 105-106, 190
Wagner, Mrs. Henry R., tr., Some Phases of French Society in San Francisco in the 'Fifties, 105-18

Walker, Edith Marion. *See* Maddux, Mrs. Parker Simmons
Walker, Joseph Reddeford, 266-67
Walkington, Mrs. M. O., 193, 194
Wall, Joseph G., 162
Wallace, Alfred Russel, 181, 256
Walsh, Tim, 30, 35
Walther, Eric, 184
Ware, Joseph E., 199-200
Wark, Alex, 27
Warm Spring, 205
Warren, James H., 54, 129
Warren, Mrs. James H., 125
Washington, B. F., 148-49, 151, 158
Watanabe, Hitoshi, tr., TECHNIQUES AND IMPLEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN WHALE-FISHERY, 225-29
Waterhouse, Lillian F., 239
Waterman, "Captain," 358
Watson, Sereno, 255
Weber River, 202
Weller, John B., 146-59 *passim*, 318, 319
Wells, Nev., 199
Wendell, Joseph F., 163, 167
Wenzell, William T., 251
Werner, John, 239
"The West," 291-302 *passim*
Weston, F. E., 170
Whale fishery, American, Japanese account of, 225-29. *See also* Browne, J. Ross
Wheat, 196
Whigs, 295-98 *passim*
Whitaker, J., 76-77
Whitaker, Mrs. J., 77
White, Caleb E., 185
White Cloud (ship), 217, 223
Whiting, "Captain," 355-56
Whitney, J. D., 249
Wiley, W. H., 37, 39
Willes, Ira J. *See* Willis, Ira J.
Willey, Samuel Hopkins, 49, 133
Wm. L. Marcy (revenue cutter), 149
Williams, Albert, 122, 126
Williams, Wade Hampton, 1-41 *passim*
Willis, Ira J., guide to the gold mines, 193-207
Willis, Sidney, 194-95
"Willow Cottage," 236
Wilmington, 328-48 *passim*
Wilson, Andrew, on Civil War California, 209-24, 303-12
Wilson, Benjamin D., 345
Wilson, Mrs. Carol Green, luncheon speaker, 180-85
Winn, William W., author of THE JOAQUIN MILLER FOUNDATION, 231-41; 286 (biog. note)
Wislizenus, F. A., 249
Wolfskill, William, 332, 339
Women, influence of, in early California, 125-27
Wood, Mrs. Samuel A., 90
Woodworth, John D., 333
Yankee Jims, 133
Yates, Frederick, portrait by, facing p. 248; 261
Yellow Aster Mine, 1, 31
Yerba Buena, 195
Yerba Buena Island, 234. *See also* Treasure Island
Yollo Bolla Mountains, 376
Yosemite Museum, 193-94
Young, John P., quoted, 236
Yreka, historical societies' symposium at, 175
Zoe, 180-82 *passim*

ERRATA

Page 147, line 5 (from foot), *for* Gen. John A. *read* Att'y Gen. James A.
Page 157, last line, *for* S. L. *read* C. L.
Page 170, line 2 (from foot), *for* 1948 *read* 1849
Page 182, line 7, *for* Katherine *read* Katharine
Page 184, line 9 (from foot), *insert* Howland *after* Ames
Page 247, line 19, *for* Gwendolyn *read* Gwendolan

California Historical Society

Quarterly

Volume XXXII

1953

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SAN FRANCISCO

CONTENTS OF VOLUME THIRTY-TWO

NUMBER 1 MARCH 1953

Page

"The Big Silver" 1

By Dwight L. Clarke

Northernmost Spanish Frontier in California 43

As Shown by the Distribution of Geographic Names

By H. F. Raup and William B. Pounds, Jr.

The Question of Religion and the Taming of California, 1849-1854 . 49

By William Hanchett

The Old Occidental 57

By Stephen P. Jocelyn, with Foreword by Allen L. Chickering

Diary of Emma C. Derby (Concluded) 65

Bancroft's Niece Keeps Record of European Tour, March 25–August 6, 1867

British Comment — As of 1849-1851 81

By S. Laird Swagert

News of the Society 87

Recent Californiana 92

Marginalia 93

NUMBER 2 JUNE 1953

Page

Bolton of California 97

By Lawrence Kinnaird

Some Phases of French Society in San Francisco in the 'Fifties . . . 105

Appendix to the Journal of Ernest de Massey, Translated by

Blanche Collet Wagner, with an Introduction by Henry R. Wagner

The Question of Religion and the Taming of California, 1849-1854 (Concluded) 119

By William Hanchett

M. S. Latham and the Senatorial Controversy of 1857 145

By William F. Thompson, Jr.

Cultural Diggings at Crescent City in the 'Fifties 161

By Frances T. McBride

News of the Society 171

Recent Californiana 188

Marginalia 190

NUMBER 3 SEPTEMBER 1953

Page

The Ira J. Willis Guide to the Gold Mines 193
Edited, with an Introduction, by Irene D. Paden; Foreword by Carl P. Russell

Andrew Wilson's "Jottings" on Civil War California 209
Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes, by John Haskell Kemble

Techniques and Implements of the American Whale-Fishery 225
From an Early Japanese Account
Edited by Robert F. Heizer; Translated by Hitoshi Watanabe

The Joaquin Miller Foundation 231
By William W. Winn

Hans Herman Behr 243
German Doctor, California Professor and Academician, and "Bohemian"
By Robert T. Legge, M.D.

Note on George Nidever 263
A "Clean-Living and Upright" Trapper
By Virginia Thomson

British Comment — As of 1849-1852 269
By S. Laird Swagert

News of the Society 277
Recent Californiana 283
Marginalia 285

NUMBER 4 DECEMBER 1953

Page

California, 1846-1860: Politics of a Representative Frontier State . . 291
By Earl Pomeroy

Andrew Wilson's "Jottings" on Civil War California (Concluded) . . 303
Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes, by John Haskell Kemble

The Issues in the Broderick-Gwin Debates of 1859 313
By Donald E. Hargis

The Los Angeles & San Pedro: First Railroad South of the Tehachapis . 327
By Franklyn Hoyt

An Ill-Starred Voyage 349
The S.S. Golden Gate, January 1854
By Helen Rocca Goss

Development of Transportation Routes in the Clear Lake Area . . . 363
By Frederick J. Simoons

Editor's Note: S. L. Swagert's "British Comment as of 1849 . . ."
will be continued in the March 1954 Quarterly.

News of the Society 372
Recent Californiana 381
Marginalia 383

ILLUSTRATIONS

"The Big Silver" in June 1919 . . . . *facing p.* 1

Map: The Sphere of Spanish-Mexican Influence in California . *on p.* 45

Herbert Eugene Bolton . . . . *facing p.* 97

The Willis Guide . . . . *facing p.* 193

Plates 1-8, Whale-Fishery Implements and Operations . . . . *between pp.* 224 & 225

Hans Herman Behr, M.D. . . . . *facing p.* 248

Masthead: *The Wide West* . . . . *facing p.* 291

Map: The Clear Lake Area . . . . *on p.* 367

Patron Members

Mrs. Wallace Alexander
Miss Edith W. Allyne
Miss Lucy H. Allyne
K. K. Bechtel
F. W. Beinecke
Mrs. Irving Berlin
Anson S. Blake
Mrs. M. H. B. Boggs
George T. Cameron
Mrs. William Cavalier
Allen L. Chickering
William W. Crocker
Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Edward A. Dickson
Mrs. Edward L. Doheny
O. D. Donnell, Jr.
Sidney M. Ehrman
Mrs. Sidney M. Ehrman
Charles Elsey
James Flood
Hon. Louis F. Goodman
Edward H. Heller
Miss Margaret A. Jacks
Charles Kendrick
Ralph B. Lloyd
Mrs. Stuart Middlemas
Henry D. Nichols
Mrs. William P. Roth
Mrs. Henry Potter Russell
Miss Else Schilling
Rudolph Schilling
Mrs. Walter Schilling
Porter Sesnon
Gene M. Tansey
Tallant Tubbs
Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Miss Johanna Volkmann
Willard O. Wayman
Mrs. Dean Witter

Sustaining Members

Mrs. John Payson Adams
Mrs. Merritt Adamson
Mrs. Leonora Wood Armsby
John B. F. Bacon
Mrs. Willis R. Bailard
Wakefield Baker
Paul Bancroft
Philip Bancroft
Bank of America
Otto Barkan, M.D.
Garner A. Beckett
Mrs. Frank Bennett
Victor J. Bergeron
Donald C. Biggs
H. T. Birr, Jr.
Nathaniel Blaisdell
Leon Bocqueraz
Joseph E. Bolt
Mrs. James G. Boswell
John D. Bradley
J. R. Brehm
George L. Browning, M.D.
Mrs. Henry Cartan
Selah Chamberlain, Jr.
Harold S. Chase
Bruce Church
Ted K. Clark
Dwight L. Clarke
Paul Grafe
Mrs. Edmond D. Coblentz
W. R. Coe
George W. Cohen
Colbert Coldwell
Mrs. Isabel P. Collins
Mrs. Henria P. Compton
Peter Cook, Jr.
Arthur E. Corder
Frederick C. Cordes, M.D.
Miss Etta Cornell
Mrs. Talmage Burton Crane
Ralph H. Cross
Homer D. Crotty
Mrs. Arthur D. Curtner
J. R. Dalziel
Mrs. Blake Darling
Walter Darling
Mrs. Howard Derby
Arthur C. Devlin
Lloyd Dinkelspiel
Mrs. Hugh T. Dobbins
Washington Dodge
Miss Christine Donohoe
T. G. Douglas
Aubrey Drury
Stanly A. Easton
Mrs. Camille J. Ehrenfels
Amos W. Elliott
H. L. Ellis
Herbert Eloesser
Carl E. Erickson
Mrs. Milton H. Esberg
Edward E. Eyre
Francis P. Farquhar
James Farraher
Paul B. Fay
Frank L. Fenton
Mrs. Henry G. Fenton
Mrs. Marshal H. Fisher
Roland C. Foerster
B. A. Forsterer
Harlan D. Fowler
Mrs. Frank W. Fuller, Jr.
William A. Gannon, M.D.
Ross H. Gast
W. T. George
Mrs. Morton R. Gibbons
Mrs. Guy Gilchrist
Mrs. Frank R. Girard
C. M. Goethe
Gordon D. Gollan
Albert H. Gorie
Mrs. Joseph T. Grace

Sustaining Members (continued)

Everett D. Graff
Daniel J. Grant, Jr.
John E. Grant
Donald M. Gregory
Mrs. Donald Gregory
Col. Allen Griffin
Berthold Guggenhime
Gordon G. Guiberson
Mrs. Horace Guittard
Edward T. Haas
Mrs. Edward F. Haas
Gordon G. Hair
Richard C. Ham
George L. Harding
Carroll T. Harris
Harry Hastings, Jr.
Robert P. Hastings
Harold J. Havre
Mrs. A. L. Hawley, Jr.
Miss Lucy B. Heiskell
Mrs. E. S. Heller
Mrs. I. W. Hellman, Jr.
Griffith Henshaw
George Herrington
George Hoberg
Mrs. C. H. Holbrook
Harold C. Holmes
Miss Marian O. Hooker
Warren R. Howell
James J. Hunter
Mrs. William Hutchinson
William M. Irvine, Jr.
J. B. S. Johnson
Otis R. Johnson
Willard W. Keith
Harold A. Kellogg
Mrs. Gerald D. Kennedy
Lawton R. Kennedy
Alexander King
Mrs. Robert C. Kirkwood
Joseph R. Knowland
William F. Knowland
Frederick J. Koster
Charles F. Lambert
Mrs. Charles F. Lambert
John H. Lawrence, M.D.
D. Ramsey Lawson
A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. W. J. Lindenberger
George D. Louderback
Harvey B. Lyon
Florence McAuliffe
Atholl McBean
Mrs. Atholl McBean
F. P. McCann
A. S. Macdonald
Col. Harold L. Mack
Garret McEnerney II
Mrs. Albert B. McKee
Rev. Thomas J. McKeon
J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
George M. Mardikian
Robert D. Marshall
Walter S. Martin
William Wallace Mein
John L. Merrill
Mrs. C. O. G. Miller
G. Willard Miller
Robert Watt Miller
Mrs. Maxwell C. Milton
Mrs. Randolph Huntington Miner
Mrs. Amy Requa Mitten
James K. Moffitt
Miss Frances M. Molera
Mrs. E. G. Montgomery
Mrs. Philip Morse
S. F. B. Morse
Dwight Murphy
M. C. Nathan
John Francis Neylan
E. R. Niemela
Jack Okell
Edwin Letts Oliver
Mrs. James R. Page
Mrs. Silas H. Palmer
T. M. Parks
Charles P. Partridge
T. S. Petersen
Mrs. H. D. Pillsbury
John E. Porter
Richard S. Rheem
Irving S. Rogers
Francis William Rubke
Stuart R. Rugg
San Mateo Public Library
Mrs. Thomas Schnoor
Addison Schuster
Frank Schwabacher
James H. Schwabacher
George A. Scott
Frank R. Seaver
Mrs. Eric G. Segerstrom
W. T. Sesnon, Jr.
Miss Helen Shafter
L. L. Shaw
A. T. Shine
Paul A. Sinsheimer
Howard D. Smith
Mrs. Antoinette Naglee Spruyt
Harvey E. Starr, M.D.
Walter A. Starr
Miss Lucy Ward Stebbins
Louis L. Stein, Jr.
Mrs. Sigmund Stern
Samuel S. Stevens
Thomas W. Streeter
J. F. Sullivan, Jr.
Benjamin H. Swig
Charles A. Tegner
Mrs. Helen Marye Thomas
Melville C. Threlkeld, Jr.
Mrs. Henry W. Toulmin
Mrs. Donald B. Tresidder
Jasper W. Tully
F. C. van Deinse
Capt. Frederic F. Wessell
Frank A. West
Carl I. Wheat
Mrs. Van Rensselaer Wilbur
Robert W. Williams
Mrs. George Osborne Wilson
P. G. Winnett
Miss Doris Marion Wright
Loyd Wright
Edward G. Zelinsky

Mrs. Edna Martin Parratt, *Managing Director*
Miss Gladys C. Wickson, *Editor of the Quarterly*
James de T. Abajian, *Librarian*
Miss Florence Hazard, *Staff Assistant*
Office and Library: 456 McAllister Street, San Francisco 2

Lawton Kennedy, Printer
San Francisco